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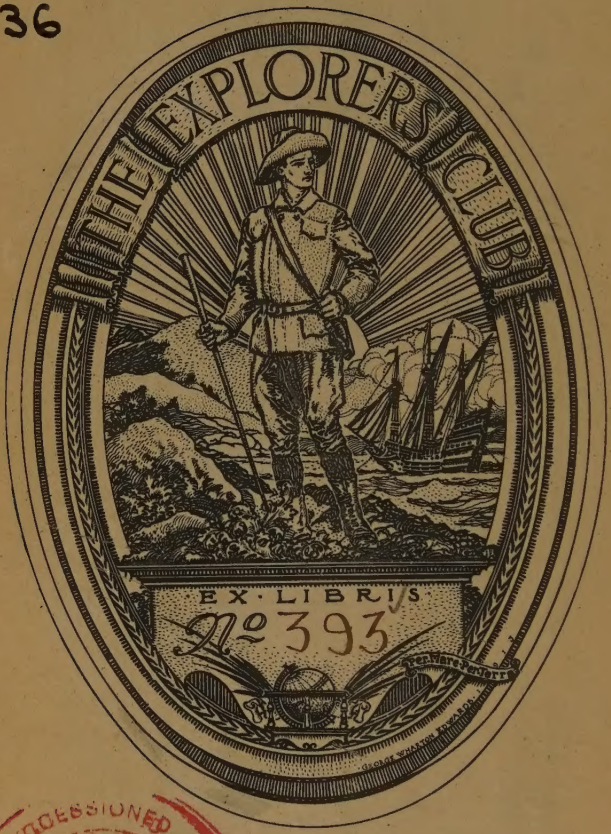

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James B. Ford

The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation

In Twelve Volumes

Volume VIII

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Quo CHRISTI imbuerit barbara corda fide

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The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation

Made by Sea or Over-land to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 Yeeres

By

RICHARD HAKLUYT

Preacher, and sometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford

VOLUME VIII

Glasgow

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393

THE TABLE

PAGE

A Catalogue of the Voyages of this eighth volume made to Newfoundland and the River of Canada, and the Voyages made unto Virginia and to the coast and inland of Florida; with the Letters Patents, Discourses, Observations and Advertisements belonging to the Voyages of this eighth Volume :

The voyage of two ships, whereof the one was called The Dominus vobiscum, set out the 20 of May 1527, for the discovery of the North parts. . . . 1

The voyage of M. Hore, and divers other gentlemen to Newfoundland, and Cape Briton, in the yere 1536 . 3

An act against the exaction of money or any other thing by any officer for licence to traffique into New foundland and Iseland, made Anno 2. Edwardi sexti. . . 7

A letter written to M. Richard Hakluyt of the Midle Temple, contayning a report of the true state and commodities of Newfoundland, by M. Antony Parkhurst, 1578. 9

The letters patents granted by her Majestie to sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, for inhabiting some part of America 1578. 17

A Catalogue of the Voyages—*Continued.* PAGE

A learned and stately Poeme written in Latine Hexamiters by Stephanus Parmenius Budeius, concerning the voyage of sir Humfrey Gilbert to Newfound-land, for the planting of an English colonie there, containing also a briefe remembrance of certaine of our principal English captaines by sea. 23

The voyage of Sir Humfrey Gilbert to Newfoundland, An. 1583. 34

Orders agreed upon by the Captaines and Masters, to bee observed by the fleete of sir Humfrey Gilbert. . . 43

A briefe relation of Newfound-land, and the commodities thereof. 55

Reckonings of the Master and Masters mate of the Admirall of sir Humfrey Gilbert in their course from cape Race to cape Briton, and to the Isle of Sablon. . . 64

The maner how the sayd Admirall was lost. . . . 65

A letter of the learned Hungarian Stephanus Parmenius Budeius to master Richard Hakluyt the collectour of these voyages. 78

A relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth master of the ship called The Delight, which went as Admirall of sir Humfrey Gilberts fleete for the discoverie of Norumbega 1583: written in excuse of the casting away the sayd ship and the men, imputed to his oversight. 85

A discourse of the necessitie and commoditie of planting English colonies upon the North partes of America. . 89

A letter of the right honourable sir Francis Walsingham to master Richard Hakluyt then of Christchurch in Oxford, incouraging him in the studie of Cosmography, and furthering of new discoveries 1582. . . 131

A Catalogue of the Voyages—*Continued.* PAGE

A letter of the right honourable sir Francis Walsingham to master Thomas Aldworth marchant, and at that time Mayor of the citie of Bristol, concerning their adventure in the Westerne discoverie 1582. 132

A letter written from master Aldworth marchant and mayor of the citie of Bristol, to the right honourable sir Francis Walsingham, concerning a voyage intended for the discoverie of the coast of America lying to the Southwest of cape Briton 1583. 133

A briefe and summarie discourse upon a voyage intended to the hithermost parts of America, written by master Christopher Carlile 1583. 134

Articles set downe by the committies appointed on the behalfe of the company of the Moscovian marchants, to conferre with master Carlile upon his intended discovery of the hithermost partes of America. . . 147

The first discovery of the isle of Ramea, made by for Monsieur de la court pre Ravillon & grand pre, with the ship called The Bonaventure, to kill and make trane-oile of the beasts called The Morses, with great teeth, Anno 1591. 150

A letter sent to the right honourable sir William Cecil Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurer of England &c. from master Thomas James of Bristol, concerning the discoverie of the Isle of Ramea 1591. . . 155

A briefe note of the Morse, and of the use thereof. . . 156

The voyage of the ship called The Marigolde of M. Hill of Redriffe, unto Cape Briton and beyond, to the latitude of 44 degrees and a halfe, Anno 1593. . . . 157

The voyage of M. George Drake of Apsham, to the isle of Ramea, in the yeere 1593. 161

A Catalogue of the Voyages—*Continued.* PAGE

The voyage of The Grace of Bristoll, up into the gulfe of S. Laurence to the Northwest of Newfoundland, as far as the isle of Assumption or Natiscotec, Anno 1594. 162

The voyage of M. Charles Leigh, and divers others, to Cape Briton and the isle of Ramea, 1597. . . . 166

Certaine observations touching the countries and places where master Charles Leigh touched in his voyage to cape Briton, and to the Isle of Ramea anno 1597. . 180

The first voyage of Jaques Cartier of Saint Malo, to Newfound-land, the gulfe of Saint Laurence, and the Grand Bay, Anno 1534. 183

Divers words of the language spoken in New France, with the interpretation thereof. 209

The second voyage of Jaques Cartier by the Grand bay up the river of Canada to Hochelaga, Anno 1535. . 210

The third voyage of Jaques Cartier unto the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay, Anno 1540. . 263

A description of the river and haven of Saincte Croix. . 267

A description of the 3 saults or falles of water in the river of Canada. 269

A letter written to M. John Groute student in Paris by Jaques Noel of Saint Malo the nephew of Jaques Cartier, touching the discoverie of his uncle in the partes of Canada 1587. 272

Part of another letter written by Jaques Noel of Saint Malo to the foresayde M. John Groute student in Paris . 273

An excellent ruttier shewing the course from Belle isle, Carpont, and the Grand bay up the river of Canada for the space of 230 leagues, observed by John Alphonse of Xanctoigne, chiefe Pilote to Monsieur Roberval, 1542. 275

THE TABLE

A Catalogue of the Voyages—*Continued.*

PAGE

The voyage of John Francis de la Roche knight, lord of Roberval, with three tall ships to the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay, 1542. . . . 283

A description of the Salvages in Canada. 287

The voyage of Monsieur Roberval from his Fort in Canada unto Saguenay, the fifth of June, 1543. 288

The letters patents granted by the Queenes Majestie to sir Walter Ralegh, for the discovering, and planting of new lands and countries, Anno 1584. 289

The first voyage made to the coast of Virginia by M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlow, 1584. 297

The second voyage made to Virginia by sir Richard Grinvile for sir Walter Ralegh, Anno 1585: at what time the first colonie of English was there left under the government of M. Ralfe Lane, now knight. . . . 310

The names of those, aswell gentlemen as others, that remained one whole yeere in Virginia, under the government of M. Ralph Lane. 317

An extract of M. Ralph Lanes letter to M. Richard Hakluyt esquire, and another Gentleman of the middle Temple from Virginia 1585. 319

An account of the particular employments of the Englishmen left in Virginia by S. Richard Grinvile under M. Ralph Lane their generall, from the 17. of August 1585. untill the 18. of June 1586. at which time they departed the countrey. 320

The third voyage to Virginia made by a ship sent in the yeere 1586. for the reliefe of the colonie planted in Virginia, at the sole charges of sir Walter Ralegh . 346

A Catalogue of the Voyages—*Continued.* PAGE

A briefe and true report of the commodities aswell marchantable as others, which are to be found and raised in the countrey of Virginia, written by M. Thomas Harriot: together with Master Ralph Lane his approbation thereof in all points. . . . 348

A description of the nature and maners of the people of Virginia. 374

The fourth voyage made to Virginia with 3. ships, Anno 1587. wherein was transported the second colonie . . 386

The names of all the men, women, and children which safely arrived in Virginia, and remayned to inhabite there Anno 1587. 402

A letter of M. John White to M. Richard Hakluyt written in February 1593. 404

The fifth voyage to Virginia made by master John White in the yeere 1590. 406

The voyage of John de Verazzano a Florentine to the coast of Florida, sailing from thence Northerly to the latitude of 50. degrees, Anno 1524. . . . 423

An Epistle Dedicatorie to sir Walter Ralegh, prefixed by master Richard Hakluyt before the history of Florida, which he translated out of French 1587. . . 439

The Preface of master René Laudonniere before the sayd Historie. 446

A description of the West Indies in general, but more chiefly & particularly of Florida. 448

The voyage of captaine John Ribault to Florida, 1562. . 457

An oration of captaine John Ribault to his company. . 468

ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, ... *Frontispiece*

Sir Humphrey Gilbert was born about 1539 near Dartmouth, and was step-brother to Sir Walter Raleigh. In 1563 he was wounded at Havre in fighting against the French. In July 1566 he served in Ireland. In October 1569 he was placed in charge of the province of Munster. He was knighted by the Lord Deputy Sidney at Drogheda on 1st January 1570. In 1571 he was returned member of Parliament for Plymouth. In 1572 he was sent to the Netherlands with a contingent of English Volunteers to help the Zeelanders against the Spanish.

In 1578 Gilbert obtained his Charter 'for the Westerne Discovery of America and to plant a colony,' but his first expedition in 1578 was a failure, because 'amongst a multitude of voluntary men, their dispositions were divers which bred a jarre and made a division in the end to the confusion of that attempt even before the same was begun.'

In 1579 he served at sea off Munster. In 1583 his second expedition set out, and an account of this, which ended in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's death, will be found on page 46. The portrait is taken from the British Museum copy of Holland's *Heroologia* published in 1620.

Christopher Carlile, ... 144

Christopher Carleill or Carlile was born in 1551. He was a grandson of Sir George Barnes, Lord Mayor of London. He was educated at Cambridge and married Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham.

PAGE

In 1572 he went to Flushing and was present at the siege of Middleburgh. Then proceeding to La Rochelle he served under the Prince of Condè. He next saw service at Steenwick, besieged by the Spaniards, where he was placed by the Prince of Orange in sole command. In 1582 he convoyed in the 'Tiger' the English merchants to Russia (Vol. iii., page 303). He tried to induce the Russia merchants to finance a voyage 'to the hithermost parts of America' and wrote the 'briefe and summary discourse' for that purpose (page 134).

In 1584 he was made Commander of the Garrison of Coleraine and in 1585 was made Lieutenant-General of the Land Forces in Drake's West India Expedition of that year, an account of which appears in Vol. X of this edition. In 1588 he was appointed Constable of Carrickfergus and later, Governor of Ulster. He died in London in 1593. Stowe says: 'He was quicke-witted and affable, valiant and fortunate in warre, well-read in mathematiks, and of good experience in navigation, whereuppon some have registred him for a Navigator, but the truth is, his most inclination and profession was chiefely for lande service, he utterly abhorred pyracy.' The portrait is reproduced from that in Holland's *Heroologia*, cited above.

Map of the New World, A.D. 1587, . . . 272

This map dedicated 'to the most learned and accomplished Richard Hakluyt,' is the one referred to in Jaques Noel's letter to 'Master John Growte student in Paris' given on p. 272. In this letter Jaques Noel, who was the nephew of Jaques Cartier and accompanied him to Canada criticises from personal observation the position on the map of the River of Canada and 'the great Lake which is above the Saults.'—The map which is a beautiful example of the copperplate engraving of the period is taken from the copy, in the British Museum, in Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo*, annotated by Richard Hakluyt and published at Paris in 1587.

ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

A Virginian Warrior, ... 304

From the original water colour drawing by John White. Little is known of John White beyond what appears in Hakluyt's pages. He went out to Virginia in the Expedition under Sir Richard Grenville in 1585. He returned in June 1586 when Drake's expedition took off the Settlers.

He was 'Governour of the Planters in Virginia' in 1587 and at their earnest request returned to England to obtain supplies for the Colony. In 1588 Raleigh sent him back, and arranged that three ships then fitting out for John Watts, a London Merchant, should take on board a number of passengers and stores for Virginia. The owner of the ships however would not permit any passengers or stores to go on board except John White 'and his chest.' Owing to the lateness of the season he was unable to land on Virginia.

In 1590 he made another voyage to Virginia, but he could not find the colonists, and the expedition returned to England in October of that year.

This and the five following illustrations have been reproduced from a volume of White's water colour drawings which is preserved in the Grenville Library in the British Museum. It is clear that he was an accurate painter, and it is safe to assume that these contemporary sketches of the natives of Virginia at the time of their discovery by the English give a true representation of the people and their dwellings.

Chart of Virginia, by John White 320

The Village of Secoton, by John White . . 336

A Virginian Priest, by John White . . . 376

Chart of Virginia and Florida, by John White . 400

ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

A Native of Florida, by John White . . . 448

Map of America by John Dee, A.D. 1580 . . 486

John Dee, Mathematician and Astrologer was born in London on 13th July 1527. He took his B.A. degree at St. John's, Cambridge, in 1542. In 1547 he went to the Low Countries to study, and became a student at Louvain in 1548.

On the accession of Queen Mary, Dee joined the Princess Elizabeth's party and was imprisoned for an alleged attempt on the Queen's life by poison or magic, but was allowed his liberty on giving security for his good behaviour. In 1555-56 he presented a supplication to Queen Mary for the recovery and preservation of ancient writings and monuments. On Queen Elizabeth's accession he entered her service and made an astrological calculation for the choice of a fit day for the coronation. He was consulted by Royal command on the Queen's illness. In 1578 he went to Germany to consult the Physicians there regarding the Queen's health. In 1580 he delivered to the Queen Rolls showing the Queen's titles to the newly discovered countries.

Dee was a great Alchemist and Spiritualist and was regarded by the common people as a Magician. In 1583 a mob broke into his house and destroyed a great part of his furniture, books, and chemical apparatus. He died in poverty in 1608. The original Roll from which this map has been reproduced is now preserved in the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum.

THE EIGHTH VOLUME

OF THE

Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation

Made to Newfoundland and the River of Canada,
and the Voyages made unto Virginia
and to the coast and inland of Florida ;
with the Letters Patents, Discourses,
Observations and Advertisements
belonging to the Voyages of
this eighth Volume

The Voyages of the English Nation to Newfoundland, to the Isles of Ramea, and the Isles of Assumption otherwise called Natiscotec, situate at the mouth of the River of Canada, and to the coastes of Cape Briton, and Arambec, corruptly called Norumbega, with the Patents, letters, and advertisements thereunto belonging.

The voyage of the two ships, whereof the one was called the Dominus vobiscum, set out the 20 day of May in the 19 yere of king Henry the eight, and in the yere of our Lord God 1527. for the discoverie of the North partes.

[III. 129.]

MAster Robert Thorne of Bristoll, a notable member and ornament of his country, as wel for his learning, as great charity to the poore, in a letter of his to king Henry the 8 and a large discourse to doctor Leigh, his Ambassadour to Charles the Emperour, (which both are to be seene almost in the beginning of the first volume of this my work) exhorted the aforesaid king with very waighty and substantial reasons, to set forth a discovery even to the North Pole. And that it may be knowne that this his motion tooke present effect, I thought it good herewithall to put downe the testimonies of two of our Chroniclers. M. Hall, and M. Grafton, who both write in this sort. This same moneth (say they)

king Henry the 8 sent 2 faire ships wel manned & victualled, having in them divers cunning men to seeke strange regions, & so they set forth out of the Thames the 20 day of May in the 19 yeere of his raigne, which was the yere of our Lord. 1527.

And whereas master Hal, and master Grafton say, that in those ships there were divers cunning men, I have made great enquirie of such as by their yeeres and delight in Navigation, might give me any light to know who those cunning men should be, which were the directers in the aforesaid voyage. And it hath bene tolde me by sir Martine Frobisher, and M. Richard Allen, a knight of the Sepulchre, that a Canon of Saint Paul in London, which was a great Mathematician, and a man indued with wealth, did much advance the action, and went therein himselfe in person, but what his name was I cannot learne of any. And further they told me that one of the ships was called The Dominus vobiscum, which is a name likely to be given by a religious man of those dayes: and that sayling very farre Northwestward, one of the ships was cast away as it entred into a dangerous gulph, about the great opening, betweene the North parts of Newfoundland, and the countrey lately called by her Majestie, Meta Incognita. Whereupon the other ship shaping her course towards Cape Briton, and the coastes of Arambec, and oftentimes putting their men on land to search the state of those unknowen regions, returned home about the beginning of October, of the yere aforesayd. And thus much (by reason of the great negligence of the writers of those times, who should have used more care in preserving of the memories of the worthy actes of our nation,) is all that hitherto I can learne, or finde out of this voyage.

It seems that these evidences of volcanic action may have led to the belief that there was a volcano in the neighbourhood, and the smoke seen from a distance does give ground to the idea. Curiously, there was no sign of a hot spring, and the small trickle of water, probably due to the melting of a recent fall of snow, was not a permanent spring, but infiltration.

Geogr. Jl May 1931

MASTER HORE'S VOYAGE OF 1536

PROFESSOR E. G. R. TAYLOR

THE account published by Richard Hakluyt in the 'Principal Navigations' of a voyage of Master Hore and divers other gentlemen to Newfoundland in 1536, a voyage in which, although it lasted but six months, one participant at least claimed to have been so altered by hunger and misery that his own mother did not know him, has always aroused a certain degree of scepticism. Hakluyt, it will be recalled, obtained the story in part at first hand from Thomas Butts, son of one of the Royal Physicians, and in part at second hand from reminiscences given at a much earlier date to his cousin of the Middle Temple by Oliver Dawbeney, another participant in the voyage. These reminiscences included a gruesome account of starvation and cannibalism on the part of the ship's crew. Now Thomas Butts must have been at least seventy years old when Hakluyt visited him to obtain material for his collection of voyages, and he was recalling events of half a century earlier. Dawbeney, save for this early adventure, spent his life in humdrum Civil Service appointments at the Irish Mint and the London Customs House. The stories of both would thus in all probability be highly coloured and inaccurate in detail.

A laborious search at the Public Record Office for contemporary evidence of the voyage has proved successful, owing to the accident that a suit was instituted against Richard Hore in the High Court of Admiralty within six weeks of his return. The relevant legal documents, six in number,* yield no details of the incidents of the voyage, but they indicate its purpose and achievement, simply the capture of Newfoundland fish. The leader of the expedition, Richard Hore, was a citizen of London and a leatherseller, who had chartered a ship, the *William of London* (not the *Minion*, Hakluyt must have misheard the aged Thomas Butts), owned by William Dolphyn, a London draper. According to the latter's deposition the voyage was appointed to be "from the port of London to the place or land called in English the Newe found land in the most remote parts."

The *William*, according to her owner's statement, set out in April and arrived safely in Newfoundland, where Richard Hore "caught fish, or caused them to be caught." The return voyage was also made in safety, the ship arriving in the Port of London in "September or October," that is to say at the end of the one month or the beginning of the next. Hore failed to carry out the terms of his contract, and hence Dolphyn obtained from the Court an order for the arrest of the cargo of "fish and other goods" that was on board. The case was before

*H. C. A. Series 24, No. 2, and H. C. A. Series 30, No. 542.

the Court early in November 1536, and Butts' mention of the *Trinity* as the second ship concerned is confirmed by two notices relative to her arrest docketed with the *William* papers.

That Richard Hore was a man of few scruples is indicated by his adventures in 1537: he chartered a fresh ship, the *Valentine* of London, and took her to Spain, subsequently taking on board at Lisbon a number of Portuguese whom he undertook to convey to London. Instead of doing so, he took them to a small haven near Cardiff, and holding them prisoners, attempted to extort a large sum of money from them. For this he was brought up before the Earl of Worcester at Cardiff Castle, when he protested his loyalty and innocence. A year later (September 1538) the *Valentine* was arrested at the instance of Sir Thomas Spent (apparently her owner) to whom Hore owed £280. Her cargo of salt and wine was sold, although doubt was expressed as to whether it had been honestly come by.

Meagre though this fresh evidence as to Hore and his voyage may be, it serves to indicate that the major hardships alleged in the accounts received by Hakluyt must have existed merely in the minds of the narrators. Hore planned an ordinary commercial venture to the Grand Banks, and had the wit to combine it with what looks very like an excursion for tourists. Only a year or two earlier a Brazilian chief, in full savage war array, had been exhibited at Whitehall, and it is not to be wondered at that much talk of the strangeness of the New World and its "Naturalls" excited among the younger gentry of London a desire to see for themselves. To gratify their curiosity it must have been necessary, once across the Atlantic, to leave the beaten track of the Banks fishermen, and it is quite probable that the visits ashore resulted in a temporary absence of the comforts and even the necessities of life. There was too little time for any real exploration, and not one of the documents hints at any unusual happenings; nor has any confirmation of the story of the plundered French ship come to light, although it is in accordance with Hore's character that his cargo of fish may have been stolen. Nevertheless, an ordinary voyage to Newfoundland involved what must have seemed great wretchedness to a company of gently nurtured men, accustomed to the softness and ease of London court and legal circles, from which it appears they were almost all drawn. Little wonder that they left the ships at the first possible moment at St. Ives, and finished their journey by land, instead of facing the choppy waters of the Channel.

It is said that one of them, Armigel Wade, afterwards Clerk to the Privy Council, wrote a book on his experiences, and hence gained the reputation of being the first Englishman to see the New World; but no trace of such a work is to be found. He and his fellows, however, deserve their place in history beside the Brothers Parmentier and Pierre Crignon, as among the first to travel abroad not for gain but for aesthetic and intellectual pleasure.

The voyage of M. Hore and divers other gentlemen, to Newfoundland, and Cape Briton, in the yere 1536 and in the 28 yere of king Henry the 8.

ONe master Hore of London, a man of goodly stature and of great courage, and given to the studie of Cosmographie, in the 28 yere of king Henry the 8 and in the yere of our Lord 1536 encouraged divers Gentlemen and others, being assisted by the kings favour and good countenance, to accompany him in a voyage of discoverie upon the Northwest parts of America: wherein his perswasions tooke such effect, that within short space many gentlemen of the Innes of court, and of the Chancerie, and divers others of good worship, desirous to see the strange things of the world, very willingly entred into the action with him, some of whose names were as followeth: M. Weekes a gentleman of the West countrey of five hundred markes by the yeere living. M. Tucke a gentleman of Kent. M. Tuckfield. M. Thomas Buts the sonne of Sir William Buts knight, of Norfolke, which was lately living, and from whose mouth I wrote most of this relation. M. Hardie, M. Biron, M. Carter, M. Wright, M. Rastall Serjeant Rastals brother, M. Ridley, and divers other, which all were in the Admyrall called the Trinitie, a ship of seven score tunnes, wherein M. Hore himselfe was imbarked. In the other ship whose name was the Minion, went a very learned and vertuous gentleman one M. Armigil Wade, Afterwardes Clerke of the Counsailes of king Henry the 8 and king Edward the sixth, father to the worshipfull M. William Wade now Clerke of the privie Counsell, M. Oliver Dawbeney marchant of London, M. Joy afterward gentleman of the Kings Chappel, with divers other of good account.

[III. 130.] *M. Armigil Wade.*

The whole number that went in the two tall ships aforesaid, to wit, the Trinitie and the Minion, were about sixe score persons, whereof thirty were gentlemen, which all we mustered in warlike maner at Graves-end, and after the receiving of the Sacrament, they embarked themselves in the ende of Aprill. 1536.

From the time of their setting out from Gravesend, they were very long at sea, to witte, above two moneths, and never touched any land untill they came to part of the West Indies about Cape Briton, shaping their course thence Northeastwardes, untill they came to the Island of Penguin, which is very full of rockes and stones, whereon they went and found it full of great foules white and gray, as big as geese, and they saw infinite numbers of their egges. They drave a great number of the foules into their boates upon their sayles, and tooke up many of their egges, the foules they flead and their skinnes were very like hony combes full of holes being flead off: they dressed and eate them and found them to be very good and nourishing meat. They saw also store of beares both blacke and white, of whome they killed some, and tooke them for no bad foode.

Cape Briton.

The Island of Penguin standeth about the latitude of 30. degrees.

M. Dawbenys report to M. Richard Hakluyt of the Temple.

M. Oliver Dawbeny, which (as it is before mentioned) was in this voyage, and in the Minion, told M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple these things following: to wit, That after their arrivall in Newfoundland, and having bene there certaine dayes at ancre, and not having yet seene any of the naturall people of the countrey, the same Dawbeney walking one day on the hatches, spied a boate with Savages of those parts, rowing downe the Bay toward them, to gaze upon the ship and our people, and taking vewe of their comming aloofe, hee called to such as were under the hatches, and willed them to come up if they would see the natural people of the countrey, that they had so long and so much desired to see: whereupon they came up, and tooke viewe of the Savages rowing toward them

They beheld the Savages of Newfoundland.

and their ship, and upon the viewe they manned out a ship-boat to meet them and to take them. But they spying our ship-boat making towards them, returned with maine force and fled into an Island that lay up in the Bay or river there, and our men pursued them into the Island, and the Savages fledde and escaped: but our men found a fire, and the side of a beare on a wooden spit left at the same by the Savages that were fled.

There in the same place they found a boote of leather garnished on the outward side of the calfe with certaine brave trailes, as it were of rawe silke, and also found a certaine great warme mitten: And these caryed with them, they returned to their shippe, not finding the Savages, nor seeing any thing else besides the soyle, and the things growing in the same, which chiefly were store of firre and pine trees.

And further, the said M. Dawbeny told him, that lying there they grew into great want of victuals, and that there they found small reliefe, more then that they had from the nest of an Osprey, that brought hourely to her yong great plentie of divers sorts of fishes. But such was the famine that increased amongst them from day to day, that they were forced to seeke to relieve themselves of raw herbes and rootes that they sought on the maine: but the famine increasing, and the reliefe of herbes being to little purpose to satisfie their insatiable hunger, in the fieldes and deserts here and there, the fellowe killed his mate while he stooped to take up a roote for his reliefe, and cutting out pieces of his bodie whom he had murthered, broyled the same on the coles and greedily devoured them.

Extreme famine.

By this meane the company decreased, and the officers knew not what was become of them; And it fortuned that one of the company driven with hunger to seeke abroade for reliefe found out in the fieldes the savour of broyled flesh, and fell out with one for that he would suffer him and his fellowes to sterve, enjoying plentie as

Our men eate one another for famine.

he thought: and this matter growing to cruell speaches, he that had the broyled meate, burst out into these wordes: If thou wouldest needes know, the broyled meate that I had was a piece of such a mans buttocke. The report of this brought to the ship, the Captaine found what became of those that were missing, & was perswaded that some of them were neither devoured with wilde beastes, nor yet destroyed with Savages: And

The Captaines Oration.

hereupon hee stood up and made a notable Oration, containing, Howe much these dealings offended the Almightie, and vouched the Scriptures from first to last, what God had in cases of distresse done for them that called upon him, and told them that the power of the Almighty was then no lesse, then in al former time it had bene. And added, that if it had not pleased God to have holpen them in that distresse, that it had bene better to have perished in body, and to have lived everlastingly, then to have relieved for a poore time their mortal bodyes, and to bee condemned everlastingly both body and soule to the unquenchable fire of hell. And thus having ended to that effect, he began to exhort to repentance, and besought all the company to pray, that it might please God to looke upon their miserable present state, and for his owne mercie to relieve the same. The famine increasing, and the inconvenience of the men that were missing being found, they agreed amongst themselves rather then all should perish, to cast lots who should be killed: And such was the mercie of God, that the same night there arrived a French ship in that port, well furnished with vittaile, and such was the policie of the English, that they became masters of the same, and changing ships and vittailing them, they set sayle to come into England.

[III. 131.]

The English surprise a French ship, wherein they returned home.

In their journey they were so farre Northwards, that they sawe mighty Islands of yce in the sommer season, on which were haukes and other foules to rest themselves being weary of flying over farre from the maine. They sawe also certaine great white foules with red bils and red

Haukes and other foules.

legs, somewhat bigger then Herons, which they supposed to be Storkes. They arrived at St. Ives in Cornewall about the ende of October. From thence they departed unto a certaine castle belonging to sir John Luttrell, where M. Thomas Buts, and M. Rastall and other Gentlemen of the voyage were very friendly entertained: after that they came to the Earle of Bathe at Bathe, and thence to Bristoll, so to London. M. Buts was so changed in the voyage with hunger and miserie, that sir William his father and my Lady his mother knew him not to be their sonne, untill they found a secret marke which was a wart upon one of his knees, as hee told me Richard Hakluyt of Oxford himselfe, to whom I rode 200. miles onely to learne the whole trueth of this voyage from his own mouth, as being the onely man now alive that was in this discoverie.

Foules supposed to be storkes.

Certaine moneths after, those Frenchmen came into England, and made complaint to king Henry the 8: the king causing the matter to be examined, and finding the great distresse of his subjects, and the causes of the dealing so with the French, was so mooved with pitie, that he punished not his subjects, but of his owne purse made full and royall recompence unto the French.

The French royally recompenced by king Henry the 8.

In this distresse of famine, the English did somewhat relieve their vitall spirits, by drinking at the springs the fresh water out of certaine wooden cups, out of which they had drunke their Aqua composita before.

An act against the exaction of money or any other thing by any officer for licence to traffique into Iseland & Newfoundland, made in An. 2. Edwardi sexti.

FOrasmuch as within these few yeeres now last past, there have bene levied, perceived & taken by certaine of the officers of the Admiraltie, of such Marchants, and fishermen as have used and practised the adventures and journeys into Iseland, New-

foundland, Ireland, and other places commodious for fishing, and the getting of fish, in and upon the Seas or otherwise, by way of Marchants in those parties, divers great exactions, as summes of money, doles or shares of fish, and such other like things, to the great discouragement & hinderance of the same Marchants and fishermen, and to no little dammage of the whole common wealth, and thereof also great complaints have bene made, & informations also yerely to the kings Majesties most honourable councell: for reformation whereof, and to the intent also that the sayd Marchants and fishermen may have occasion the rather to practise & use the same trade of marchandizing, & fishing freely without any such charges and exactions, as are before limited, wherby it is to be thought that more plentie of fish shall come into this Realme, and thereby to have the same at more reasonable prices: Be it therfore enacted by the king our soveraigne Lord, and the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authoritie of the same, that neither the Admiral, nor any officer, or minister, officers or ministers of the Admiraltie for the time being, shall in any wise hereafter exact, receive, or take by himselfe, his servant, deputie, servants, or deputies of any such Marchant or fisherman, any summe or summes of money, doles or shares of fish, or any other reward, benefit or advantage whatsoever it be, for any licence to passe this Realme to the sayd voyages or any of them, nor upon any respect concerning the said voyages, nor any of them, upon paine to forfeit for the first offence treble the summe, or treble the value of the reward, benefite or advantage, that any such officer or minister shall hereafter have or take of any such Marchants or fishermen. For the which forfeiture the party grieved, and every other person or persons whatsoever he or they be, shall and may sue for the same by information, bill, plaint, or action of debt in any of the kings courts of recorde: The king to have the one moitie, and the party complaining the other moitie: in which suite

no essoigne, protection, or wager of law shall be allowed. And for the second offence the party so offending not only to lose and forfeite his or their office or offices in the Admiraltie, but also to make fine and ransome at the kings will and pleasure.

By this acte it appeareth, that the trade out of England to Newfound land was common and frequented about the beginning of the raigne of Edward the 6. namely in the yeere 1548. and it is much to be marveiled, that by the negligence of our men, the countrey in all this time hath bene no better searched. [III. 132.]

A letter written to M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, conteining a report of the true state and commodities of Newfoundland, by M. Anthonie Parkhurst Gentleman, 1578.

MAster Hakluyt, after most heartie commendations, with like thankes for your manifold kindnesse to me shewed, not for any merits that hitherto have beene mine, but wholly proceeding, I must needs confesse, of your owne good nature, which is so ready prest to benefit your countrey and all such poore men as have any sparke in them of good desires, that you do not onely become their friend, but also humble your selfe as servant in their affaires: for which I would to God I were once in place where I might cause your burning zeale to bee knowen to those that have authoritie, power, and abilitie to recompense your travelling mind and pen, wherewith you cease not day nor night to labour and travell to bring your good and godly desires to some passe, though not possibly to that happy ende that you most thirst for: for such is the malice of wicked men the devils instruments in this our age, that they cannot suffer any thing (or at least few) to proceed and prosper that tendeth to the setting forth of Gods glory, and the amplifying of

the Christian faith, wherein hitherto princes have not bene so diligent as their calling required. Alas, the labourers as yet are few, the harvest great, I trust God hath made you an instrument to increase the number, and to moove men of power, to redeeme the people of Newfoundland and those parts from out of the captivitie of that spirituall Pharao, the devill.

Now to answer some part of your letter touching the sundry navies that come to Newfoundland, or Terra nova, for fish: you shal understand that some fish not neere the other by 200. leagues, and therefore the certaintie is not knowen; and some yeres come many more *English.* then other some, as I see the like among us: who since my first travell being but 4. yeeres, are increased from 30. sayle to 50. which commeth to passe chiefly by the imagination of the Westerne men, who thinke their neighbours have had greater gaines then in very deed they have, for that they see me to take such paines yeerely to go in proper person: they also suppose that I find some secret commoditie by reason that I doe search the harbors, creekes and havens, and also the land much more then ever any Englishman hath done. Surely I am glad that it so increaseth, whereof soever it springeth. But to let this passe, you shall understand that I am informed that there are above 100. saile of *Spaniards.* Spaniards that come to take Cod (who make all wet, and do drie it when they come home) besides 20. or 30. more that come from Biskaie to kill Whale for Traine. These be better appoynted for shipping and furniture of munition, then any nation saving the Englishmen, who commonly are lords of the harbors where they fish, and do use all strangers helpe in fishing if need require, according to an old custome of the countrey, which thing they do willingly, so that you take nothing from them more then a boat or twaine of salt, in respect of your protection of them against rovers or other violent intruders, who do often put them from good harbor, &c. As touching their tunnage, I thinke it may be

neere five or sixe thousand tunne. But of Portugals there are not lightly above 50. saile, and they make all wet in like sorte, whose tunnage may amount to three thousand tuns, and not upwarde. Of the French nation and Britons, are about one hundred and fiftie sailes, the most of their shipping is very small, not past fortie tunnes, among which some are great and reasonably well appointed, better then the Portugals, and not so well as the Spaniards, and the burden of them may be some 7000. tunne. Their shipping is from all parts of France and Britaine, and the Spaniards from most parts of Spaine, the Portugals from Aviero and Viana, and from 2. or 3. ports more. The trade that our nation hath to Island maketh, that the English are not there in such numbers as other nations.

Portugals.

French.

Britons.

Now to certifie you of the fertilitie and goodnesse of the countrey, you shall understand that I have in sundry places sowen Wheate, Barlie, Rie, Oates, Beanes, Pease and seedes of herbes, kernels, Plumstones, nuts, all which have prospered as in England. The countrey yeeldeth many good trees of fruit, as Filberds in some places, but in all places Cherie trees, and a kind of Pearetree meet to graffe on. As for Roses, they are as common as brambles here: Strawberies, Dewberies, and Raspis, as common as grasse. The timber is most Firre, yet plentie of Pine-apple trees: fewe of these two kinds meete to maste a ship of threescore and ten: But neere Cape Briton, and to the Southward, big and sufficient for any ship. There be also Okes & thornes, there is in all the countrey plentie of Birch and Alder, which be the meetest wood for cole, and also willow, which will serve for many other purposes. As touching the kindes of Fish beside Cod, there are Herrings, Salmons, Thornebacke, Plase, or rather wee should call them Flounders, Dog fish, and another most excellent of taste called of us a Cat, Oisters, and Muskles, in which I have found pearles above 40. in one Muskle, and generally all have some, great or small. I heard of a Portugall that found one woorth

The fertility of Newfoundland.

[III. 133.]

Several sortes of fish.

300. duckets: There are also other kinds of Shel-fish, as limpets, cockles, wilkes, lobsters, and crabs: also a fish like a *Smelt which commeth on shore, and another that hath the like propertie, called a Squid: these be the fishes, which (when I please to bee merie with my old companions) I say, doe come on shore when I commaund them in the name of the 5. ports, and conjure them by such like words: These also bee the fishes which I may sweepe with broomes on a heape, and never wet my foote, onely pronouncing two or three wordes whatsoever they be appoynted by any man, so they heare my voyce: the vertue of the wordes be small, but the nature of the fish great and strange. For the Squid, whose nature is to come by night as well as by day, I tell them, I set him a candle to see his way, with which he is much delighted, or els commeth to wonder at it as doe our fresh water fish, the other commeth also in the night, but chiefly in the day, being forced by the Cod that would devoure him, and therefore for feare comming so neere the shore, is driven drie by the surge of the Sea on the pibble and sands. Of these being as good as a Smelt you may take up with a shove-net as plentifully as you do Wheate in a shovell, sufficient in three or foure houres for a whole Citie. There be also other fishes which I tell those that are desirous of strange newes, that I take as fast as one would gather up stones, and them I take with a long pole and hooke. Yea marrie say they, wee beleeve so, and that you catch all the rest you bring home in that sort, from Portugals and Frenchmen. No surely, but thus I doe: with three hookes stretched foorth in the ende of a pole, I make as it were an Eele speare, with which I pricke those Flounders as fast as you would take up fritters with a sharpe pointed sticke, and with that toole I may take up in lesse then halfe a day Lobsters sufficient to finde three hundred men for a dayes meate. This pastime ended, I shewe them that for my pleasure I take a great Mastive I have, and say no more then thus: Goe fetch me this rebellious fish that obeyeth not this Gentle-

Called by the Spaniards Anchovas, and by the Portugals Capelinas.

man that commeth from Kent and Christendome, bringing them to the high water marke, and when hee doubteth that any of those great Cods by reason of shelving ground bee like to tumble into the Sea againe, hee will warily take heede and carrie him up backe to the heape of his fellowes. This doeth cause my friendes to wonder, and at the first hearing to judge them notorious lies, but they laugh and are merrie when they heare the meanes howe each tale is true.

I tolde you once I doe remember how in my travaile into Africa and America, I found trees that bare Oisters, which was strange to you, till I tolde you that their boughes hung in the water, on which both Oisters and Muskles did sticke fast, as their propertie is, to stakes and timber.

Nowe to let these merrie tales passe, and to come to earnest matters againe, you shall understand, that Newfoundland is in a temperate Climate, and not so colde as foolish Mariners doe say, who finde it colde sometimes when plentie of Isles of yce lie neere the shore: but up in the land they shall finde it hotter then in England in many parts of the countrey toward the South. This colde commeth by an accidentall meanes, as by the yce that commeth fleeting from the North partes of the worlde, and not by the situation of the countrey, or nature of the Climate. The countrey is full of little small rivers all the yeere long proceeding from the mountaines, ingendred both of snow and raine: few springs that ever I could finde or heare of, except it bee towards the South: in some places or rather in most places great lakes with plentie of fish, the countrey most covered with woods of firre, yet in many places indifferent good grasse, and plentie of Beares every where, so that you may kill of them as oft as you list: their flesh is as good as yong beefe, and hardly you may know the one from the other if it be poudred but two dayes. Of Otters we may take like store. There are Sea Guls, Murres, Duckes, wild Geese, and many other kind of

birdes store, too long to write, especially at one Island named Penguin, where wee may drive them on a planke into our ship as many as shall lade her. These birdes are also called Penguins, and cannot flie, there is more meate in one of these then in a goose: the Frenchmen that fish neere the grand baie, doe bring small store of flesh with them, but victuall themselves alwayes with these birdes. Nowe againe, for Venison plentie, especially to the North about the grand baie, and in the South neere Cape Race, and Plesance: there are many other kinds of beasts, as Luzarnes and other mighty beastes like to Camels in greatnesse, and their feete cloven, I did see them farre off not able to discerne them perfectly, but their steps shewed that their feete were cloven, and bigger then the feete of Camels, I suppose them to [III. 134.] bee a kind of Buffes which I read to bee in the countreyes adjacent, and very many in the firme land. There bee also to the Northwards, Hares and Foxes in all parts so plentifully, that at noone dayes they take away our flesh before our faces within lesse then halfe a paire of buts length, where foure and twentie persons were turning of drie fish, and two dogs in sight, yet stoode they not in feare till wee gave shot and set the dogs upon them: the Beares also be as bold, which will not spare at midday to take your fish before your face, and I beleeve assuredly would not hurt any bodie unlesse they be forced.

Nowe to shew you my fancie what places I suppose meetest to inhabite in those parts discovered of late by our nation: There is neere about the mouth of the grand Bay, an excellent harbour called of the Frenchmen Chasteaux, and one Island in the very entrie of the streight called Bell Isle, which places if they be peopled and well fortified (as there are stones and things meete for it throughout all Newfound land) wee shall bee lordes of the whole fishing in small time, if it doe so please the Queenes Majestie, and from thence send wood and cole with all necessaries to Labrador lately discovered: but I

am of opinion, and doe most stedfastly beleeve that we shall finde as rich Mines in more temperate places and Climates, and more profitable for fishing then any yet we have used, where wee shall have not farre from thence plentie of salt made by fire undoubtedly, and very likely by the heate of the Sunne, by reason I finde salt kerned on the rockes in nine and fortie and better: these places may bee found for salte in three and fortie. I know more touching these two commodities last remembred then any man of our nation doeth; for that I have some knowledge in such matters, and have most desired the finding of them by painefull travaile, and most diligent inquirie. Now to be short, for I have bene over long by Master Butlers means, who cryed on mee to write at large, and of as many things as I call to minde woorthy of remembrance: wherefore this one thing more. I could wish the Island in the mouth of the river of Canada should bee inhabited, and the river searched, for that there are many things which may rise thereof, as I will shew you hereafter. I could find in my heart to make proofe whether it be true or no that I have read and heard of Frenchmen and Portugals to bee in that river, and about Cape Briton. I had almost forgot to speake of the plentie of wolves, and to shew you that there be foxes, blacke, white & gray: other beasts I know none save those before remembred. I found also certain Mines of yron and copper in S. Johns, and in the Island of Yron, which things might turne to our great benefite, if our men had desire to plant thereabout, for proofe whereof I have brought home some of the oare of both sortes. And thus I ende, assuring you on my faith, that if I had not beene deceived by the vile Portugals descending of the Jewes and Judas kinde, I had not failed to have searched this river, and all the coast of Cape Briton, what might have bene found to have benefited our countrey: but they breaking their bands, and falsifying their faith and promise, disappointed me of the salte they should have brought me in part of recompense of my good service in

defending them two yeeres against French Rovers, that had spoyled them, if I had not defended them.

By meanes whereof they made me lose not onely the searching of the countrey, but also forced mee to come home with great losse above 600. li. For recompence whereof I have sent my man into Portugall to demaund justice at the Kings hand, if not, I must put up my supplication to the Queenes Majesty & her honourable councell, to grant me leave to stay here so much of their goods as they have damnified mee, or else that I may take of them in Newfound land, as much fish as shall be woorth 600. li. or as much as the salte might have made. I pray you advertise mee what way I were best to take, and what hope there will bee of a recompence if I follow the suite: many there are that doe comfort me, and doe bid me proceede, for that her Majestie and the councell doe tender poore fisher men, who with me have susteined three hundred pound losse in that voyage. And to conclude, if you and your friend shall thinke me a man sufficient and of credite, to seeke the Isle of S. John, or the river of Canada, with any part of the firme land of Cape Briton, I shall give my diligence for the true and perfect discoverie, and leave some part of mine owne businesse to further the same: and thus I end, committing you to God. From Bristow the 13. of November, 1578.

Yours to use and command

ANTHONY PARCKHURST.

The Letters Patents graunted by her Majestie to Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, for the inhabiting and planting of our people in America. [III. 135.]

LIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that of our especiall grace, certaine science and meere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successours, doe give and graunt to our trustie and welbeloved servaunt Sir Humfrey Gilbert of Compton, in our Countie of Devonshire knight, and to his heires and assignes for ever, free libertie and licence from time to time and at all times for ever hereafter, to discover, finde, search out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreys and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people, as to him, his heires & assignes, and to every or any of them, shall seeme good: and the same to have, hold, occupie and enjoy to him, his heires and assignes for ever, with all commodities, jurisdictions and royalties both by sea and land: and the sayd sir Humfrey and all such as from time to time by licence of us, our heires and successours, shall goe and travell thither, to inhabite or remaine there, to build and fortifie at the discretion of the sayde sir Humfrey, and of his heires and assignes, the statutes or actes of Parliament made against Fugitives, or against such as shall depart, remaine, or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other acte, statute, lawe, or matter whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And wee doe likewise by these presents, for us, our heires and successours, give full authoritie and power to the saide Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and every of them, that hee and

they, and every, or any of them, shall and may at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the same voyages, to travell thitherward, and to inhabite there with him, and every or any of them, such and so many of our subjects as shall willingly accompany him and them, and every or any of them, with sufficient shipping, and furniture for their transportations, so that none of the same persons, nor any of them be such as hereafter shall be specially restrained by us, our heires and successors. And further, that he the said Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them shall have, hold, occupy & enjoy to him, his heires or assignes, and every of them for ever, all the soyle of all such lands, countries, & territories so to be discovered or possessed as aforesaid, and of all Cities, Castles, Townes and Villages, and places in the same, with the rites, royalties and jurisdictions, as well marine as other, within the sayd lands or countreys of the seas thereunto adjoyning, to be had or used with ful power to dispose thereof, & of every part thereof in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the laws of England, as nere as the same conveniently may be, at his, and their will & pleasure, to any person then being, or that shall remaine within the allegiance of us, our heires and successours, paying unto us for all services, dueties and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of gold and silver, that from time to time, and at all times after such discoverie, subduing and possessing shall be there gotten: all which lands, countreys and territories, shall for ever bee holden by the sayd Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes of us, our heires and successours by homage, and by the sayd payment of the sayd fift part before reserved onely for all services.

And moreover, we doe by these presents for us, our heires and successours, give and graunt licence to the sayde Sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes, and to every of them, that hee and they, and every or any of them shall, and may from time to time, and all times for ever hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter,

expulse, repell, and resist, as well by Sea as by land, and by all other wayes whatsoever, all, and every such person and persons whatsoever, as without the speciall licence and liking of the sayd Sir Humfrey, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayd countreys, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within such countreys as aforesayd, if they shall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limites aforesayd, with the subjects of any Christian prince, being in amitie with her Majesty, where the said sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their associates or companies, shall within sixe yeeres next ensuing, make their dwellings and abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter unlawfully to annoy either by Sea or land, the said sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their companies: giving and graunting by these presents, further power and authoritie to the sayd sir [III. 136.] Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and every of them from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter to take and surprise by all maner of meanes whatsoever, all and every person and persons, with their shippes, vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the sayd sir Humfrey, or his heires or assignes as aforesayd, shall bee found traffiquing into any harborough or harboroughs, creeke or creekes within the limites aforesayde, (the subjects of our Realmes and dominions, and all other persons in amitie with us, being driven by force of tempest or shipwracke onely excepted) and those persons and every of them with their ships, vessels, goods, and furniture, to detaine and possesse, as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and of every or any of them. And for uniting in more perfect league and amitie of such countreys, landes and territories so to bee possessed and inhabited as aforesayde, with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and for the better encouragement

of men to this enterprise: wee doe by these presents graunt, and declare, that all such countreys so hereafter to bee possessed and inhabited as aforesayd, from thencefoorth shall bee of the allegiance of us, our heires, and successours. And wee doe graunt to the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and to all and every of them, and to all and every other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entred in some of our courts of Record, within this our Realme of England, and that with the assent of the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, shall nowe in this journey for discoverie, or in the second journey for conquest hereafter, travel to such lands, countries and territories as aforesaid, and to their and every of their heires: that they and every or any of them being either borne within our sayd Realmes of England or Ireland, or within any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the lands, countreys and territories, with such licence as aforesayd, shall, and may have, and enjoy all the privileges of free denizens and persons native of England, and within our allegiance: any law, custome, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

And forasmuch, as upon the finding out, discovering and inhabiting of such remote lands, countreys and territories, as aforesayd, it shall be necessarie for the safetie of all men that shall adventure themselves in those journeys or voiages, to determine to live together in Christian peace and civill quietnesse each with other, whereby every one may with more pleasure and profit, enjoy that whereunto they shall attaine with great paine and perill: wee for us, our heires and successours are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe give and graunt to the sayd sir Humfrey and his heires and assignes for ever, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time for ever hereafter within the sayd mentioned remote lands and countreys, and in the way by the Seas thither, and from thence, have full and

meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, governe and rule by their, and every or any of their good discretions and pollicies, as well in causes capitall or criminall, as civill, both marine and other, all such our subjects and others, as shall from time to time hereafter adventure themselves in the sayd journeys or voyages habitative or possessive, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreys or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within two hundred leagues of any the sayd place or places, where the sayd sir Humfrey or his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associats or companies, shall inhabite within sixe yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances, as shall be by him the said sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, or every, or any of them devised or established for the better governement of the said people as aforesayd: so alwayes that the sayd statutes, lawes and ordinances may be as neere as conveniently may, agreeable to the forme of the lawes & pollicy of England: and also, that they be not against the true Christian faith or religion now professed in the church of England, nor in any wise to withdraw any of the subjects or people of those lands or places from the allegiance of us, our heires or successours, as their immediate Soveraignes under God. And further we doe by these presents for us, our heires and successours, give and graunt full power and authority to our trustie and welbeloved counseller, sir William Cecill knight, lord Burleigh, our high treasurer of England, and to the lord treasurer of England of us, for the time being, and to the privie counsell of us, our heires and successours, or any foure of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foure of them, shall, and may from time to time and at all times hereafter, under his or their handes or seales by vertue of these presents, authorize and licence the sayd sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them by him and themselves, or by their or any of their sufficient atturneys,

deputies officers, ministers, factors and servants, to imbarke and transport out of our Realmes of England and Ireland, all, or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his or their associates and companies, and every or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the said lord treasurer or foure of the privie counsell of us, our heires, or successours for the time being, as aforesayd, shall be from time to time by his or their wisedoms or discretions thought meete and convenient for the better reliefe and supportation of him the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them, and his and their, [III. 137.] and every or any of their said associates and companies, any act, statute, lawe, or other thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided alwayes, and our will and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby declare to all Christian Kings, princes and states, that if the said Sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by Sea or by land, or doe any act of unjust and unlawfull hostilitie to any of the Subjects of us, our heires, or successours, or any of the Subjects of any King, prince, ruler, governour or state being then in perfect league and amitie with us, our heires or successours: and that upon such injurie, or upon just complaint of any such prince, ruler, governour or state, or their subjects, wee our heires or successors shall make open proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England commodious, that the said Sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any other to whom these our Letters patents may extend, shall within the terme to be limited by such proclamations, make full restitution and satisfaction of all such injuries done, so as both we and the saide Princes, or others so complayning, may holde us and themselves fully contended: And that if the saide Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to bee made satisfaction accordingly,

within such time so to be limited: that then it shall bee lawfull to us, our heires and successors, to put the said Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the said places to be discovered as is aforesaide, or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection the saide Sir Humfrey, and his heires, assignes, adherents and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shal be out of our protection and allegiance, and free for all Princes and others to pursue with hostilitie as being not our Subjects, nor by us any way to bee advowed, maintained or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, dominion or allegiance any way belonging, for that expresse mention, &c. In witnesse whereof, &c. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the 11. day of June, the twentieth yeere of our raigne. Anno Dom. 1578.

Per ipsam Reginam, &c.

De Navigatione Illustris & Magnanimi Equitis aurati Humfredi Gilberti, ad deducendam in novum Orbem coloniam susceptâ, Carmen ἐπιβατικὸν STEPHANI PARMENII BUDEII.

Ad eundem illustrem equitem autoris præfatio.

REddenda est, quàm fieri potest brevissime, in hoc vestibulo, ratio facti mei, & cur ita homo novus & exterus, in tanta literatissimorum hominum copia, quibus Anglia beata est, versandum in hoc argumento mihi putaverim: ita enim tu, fortissime Gilberte, fœtum hunc nostrum in lucem exire voluisti. In servitute & barbarie Turcica, Christianis tamen, magno immortalis Dei beneficio, parentibus natus, aliquam etiam ætatis partem educatus; postquam doctissimorum hominum opera, quibus tum Pannoniæ nostræ, tum imprimis salvæ adhuc earum

reliquiæ florescunt, in literis adolevissem, more nostrorum hominum, ad invisendas Christiani orbis Academias ablegatus fui. Qua in peregrinatione, non solùm complura Musarum hospitia, sed multas etiam sapienter institutas respublicas, multarum Ecclesiarum probatissimas administrationes introspeximus, jam fermè triennio ea in re posito. Fuerat hæc nostra profectio ita à nobis comparata, ut non tantùm mores & urbes gentium videndum, sed in familiaritatem, aut saltem notitiam illustriorum hominum introëundum nobis putaremus. Cæterum, ut hoc à nobis sine invidia dici possit, (certè enim taceri absque malicia nullo modo potest) non locus, non natio, non respublica ulla nobis æquè ac tua Britannia complacuit, quamcunque in partem eventum consilii mei considerem. Accedit, quòd præter omnem expectationem meam ab omnibus tuis civibus, quibuscum aliqua consuetudo mihi contigit, tanta passìm humanitate acceptus essem, ut jam (sit hoc salva pietate à me dictum) suavissimæ Anglorum amicitiæ fermè aboleverint desiderium & Pannoniarum & Budæ meæ, quibus patriæ nomen debeo. Quas ab caussas cùm sæpenumero animus fuisset significationem aliquam nostræ hujus voluntatis & existimationis edendi; accidit utique secundùm sententiam, ut dum salutandis & cognoscendis excellentibus viris Londini operam do, ornatissimus ac doctissimus amicus meus Richardus Hakluytus ad te me deduxerit, explicato mihi præclarissimo tuo de ducenda propedièm colonia in novum orbem instituto. Quæ dum aguntur, agnoscere potui ego illud corpus & animum tuum sempiterna posteritatis commemoratione dignum, & agnovi profectò, eáque tali ac tanta observantia prosequi cœpi; ut cum paulò post plura de tuis virtutibus, & rebus gestis passìm audissem, tempus longè accommodatissi-
[III. 138.] mum existimarem esse, quo aliqua parte officii studiique nostri, ergà te & tuam gentem perfungerer. Hoc est primum ovum, unde nostrum ἐπιβατικὸν originem ducit. Reliquum est, ut eas & redeas quàm prosperrimè, vir nobilissime, & benevolentia tua, autoritate, ac

nomine, tueare studium nostrum. Vale pridie Kalen. Aprilis 1583.

Ad Thamesin.

AMnis, inoffensa qui tàm requiete beatus
Antipodum quæris jam tibi in orbe locum:
Nunc tibi principium meritæ, pro tempore, laudis
Fecimus, & raucæ carmina prima tubæ.
Tum cum reddideris, modo quam dimittimus, Argo,
Ornatu perages gaudia festa novo.

QUæ nova tàm subitò mutati gratia cœli?
Unde graves nimbi vitreas tenuantur in auras?
Diffugiunt nebulæ, puroque nitentior ortu·
Illustrat terras, clementiaque æquora Titan?
Nimirum posuere Noti, meliorque resurgit
Eurus, & in ventos solvuntur vela secundos,
Vela quibus gentis decus immortale Britanniæ
Tendit ad ignotum nostris majoribus orbem
Vix notis Gilebertus aquis. Ecquando licebit
Ordiri heroas laudes, & facta nepotum
Attonitis memoranda animis? Si cœpta silendum est
Illa, quibus nostri priscis ætatibus audent
Conferri, & certare dies: quibus obvia plano
Jamdudum Fortuna solo, quibus omne per undas
Nereidum genus exultat, faustoque tridenti
Ipse pater Nereus placabile temperat æquor.
Et passim Oceano curvi Delphines ab imo
In summos saliunt fluctus, quasi terga pararent
In quibus evectæ sulcent freta prospera puppes.
Et quasi diluvium, tempestatesque minatur
Follibus inflatis inimica in vela physeter.
Et favet Ægæon, & qui Neptunia Proteus
Armenta, ac turpes alit imo in gurgite phocas.
Atque idem modò ab antiqua virtute celebrat

Sceptra Chaledonidum: seclis modò fata futuris
Pandit, & ad seros canit eventura minores.
Ut pacis bellique bonis notissima vasto
Insula in Oceano, magni decus Anglia mundi;
Postquam opibus dives, populo numerosa frequenti,
Tot celebris factis, toto caput extulit orbe;
Non incauta sui, ne quando immensa potestas
Pondere sit ruitura suo, nova mœnia natis
Quærat, & in longum extendat sua regna recessum:
Non aliter, quàm cùm ventis sublimibus aptæ
In nidis crevere grues, proficiscitur ingens
De nostra ad tepidum tellure colonia Nilum.
Euge, sacrum pectus, tibi, per tot secula, soli
Servata est regio nullis regnata Monarchis.
Et triplici quondam mundi natura notata
Margine, & audacem quarto dignata Columbum;
Jam quintâ lustranda plagâ tibi, jamque regenda
Imperio superest. Europam Asiamque relinque,
Et fortunatam nimiùm, nisi sole propinquo
Arderet, Libyen: illis sua facta viasque
Terminet Alcides: abs te illustranda quiescit
[III. 139.] Parte alia tellus, quam non Babylonia sceptra,
Non Macedum invictæ vires, non Persica virtus
Attigit, aut unquam Latiæ feriere secures.
Non illo soboles Mahometi mugiit orbe:
Non vafer Hispanus, cœlo, superisque relictis,
Sacra Papæ humano crudelia sanguine fecit.
Illic mortales hominumque ignota propago;
Sive illi nostræ veniant ab origine gentis,
Seu tandem à prisca Faunorum stirpe supersint
Antiqua geniti terra, sine legibus urbes
Sylvasque & pingues habitant civilibus agros:
Et priscos referunt mores, vitamque sequuntur
Italiæ antiquæ, & primi rude temporis ævum:
Cum genitor nati fugiens Saturnus ob iram
In Latio posuit sedem, rudibusque regendos
In tenues vicos homines collegit ab agris.
Aurea in hoc primùm populo cœpisse feruntur

Secula, sicque homines vitam duxisse beati ;
Ut simul argenti percùrrens tempora, & æris,
Degener in durum chalybem vilesceret ætas ;
Rursus in antiquum, de quo descenderat, aurum
(Sic perhibent vates) ævo vertente rediret.
Fallor an est tempus, revolutoque orbe videntur
Aurea pacificæ transmittere secula gentes ?
Fallor enim, si quassatas tot cladibus urbes
Respicio, & passim lacerantes regna tyrannos :
Si Mahometigenis Asiam Libyamque cruento
Marte premi, domitaque jugum cervice subire :
Jamque per Europæ fines immane tribunal
Barbari adorari domini, Dacisque, Pelasgisque
Æmathiisque, omnique solo quod dividit Hebrus,
Et quondam bello invictis, nunc Marte sinistro
Angustos fines, parvamque tuentibus oram
Pannoniæ populis, & prisca in gente Liburnis.
Tum verò in superos pugnas sine fine cieri
Patribus Ausoniis : ardere in bella, necesque
Sarmaticas gentes : & adhuc à cæde recenti
Hispanum sancto Gallumque madere cruore.
Non sunt hæc auri, non sunt documenta, sed atrox
Ingenio referunt ferrum, & si dicere ferro
Deteriora mihi licet, intractabile saxum.
At verò ad niveos alia si parte Britannos
Verto oculos animumque, quot, ô pulcherrima tellus,
Testibus antiquo vitam traducis in auro ?
Namque quòd hoc summum colitur tibi numen honore
Quo superi, atque omnis geniorum casta juventus
Illius ad sacra jussa vices obit, arguit aurum.
Quòd tàm chara Deo tua sceptra gubernat Amazon,
Quàm Dea, cum nondum cœlis Astræa petitis
Inter mortales regina erat, arguit aurum.
Quòd colit haud ullis inclusas mœnibus urbes
Aurea libertas, & nescia ferre tyrannum
Securam ætatem tellus agit, arguit aurum.
Quòd regio nullis injuria gentibus, arma
Arma licet ferruginea rubicunda quiete,

Finitimis metuenda gerit tamen, arguit aurum.
Quòd gladii, quòd mucrones, quòd pila, quòd hastæ
In rastros abiere, & bello assueta juventus
[III. 140.] Pacem & amicitias dulces colit, arguit aurum.
Denique si fas est auro connectere laudes
Æris, & in pacis venerari tempore fortes;
Quot natos bello heroas, quot ahænea nutris
Pectora? Sint testes procerum tot millia, testes
Mille duces, interque duces notissima mille
Illa cui assurgunt Musæ, quam conscia Pallas
Lætior exaudit, Gileberti gloria nostri.
Illius auxilium, & socialia prælia amici
Mirantur Belgæ, & quamvis injustus Iberus
Commemorat justas acies, domitasque per oras
Martia victrices formidat Hibernia turmas.
Illum oppugnatæ quassatis turribus arces,
Illum expugnatæ perruptis mœnibus urbes,
Fluminaque & portus capti, hostilique notatum
Sanguine submersæ meminere sub æquore classes.
Hîc ubi per medios projectus Se quana Celtas
Labitur, & nomen mox amissurus, & undas.
Omnia si desint, quantum est ingentibus ausis
Humani generis pro pace bonoque pacisci
Tàm varios casus, freta tanta, pericula tanta?
Linquere adhuc teneram prolem, & dulcissima sacri
Oscula conjugii, numerantemque ordine longo
Aucheriam digitis in mollibus, æquora mille
Formidanda modis, atque inter pauca relatos
Aucherios exempla suos, fratremque patremque;
Qui dum pro patriâ laudem & virtute sequuntur,
Obsessi in muris soli portisque Caleti,
Præposuere mori, quàm cum prodentibus urbem,
Et decus Albionum, turpi superesse salute.
Quòd si parva loquor, nec adhuc fortasse fatenda est
Aurea in hoc iterum nostro gens vivere mundo,
Quid vetat ignotis ut possit surgere terris?
Auguror, & faveat dictis Deus, auguror annos,
In quibus haud illo secus olim principe in urbes

Barbara plebs coëat, quàm cùm nova saxa vocaret
Amphion Thebas, Trojana ad mœnia Phœbus.
Atque ubi sic ultrò junctas sociaverit ædes,
Deinde dabit leges caustoditurus easdem;
In quibus ignari cives fraudumque, dolique,
A solida assuescant potius virtute beari;
Quàm genio & molli liquentia corpora vita
In Venerem ignavam, pinguemque immergere luxum:
Quàm nummos, quam lucra sequi, quam propter honores
Vivere ad arbitrium stolidæ mutabile plebis.
Non illic generi virtus, opibusve premetur
Libertas populi, non contrâ in deside vulgo
Oppugnabit opes civis sub nomine pauper:
Quisque suo partem fœlix in jure capesset.
Tum sua magna parens ingenti fœnore tellus
Exiguo sudore dabit bona: cura juventam
Nulla adiget senio, nec sic labor ocia tollet,
Quo minus è virtute petant sua commoda cives.
O mihi fœlicem si fas conscendere puppim:
Et tecum patriâ (pietas ignosce) relictâ
Longinquum penetrare fretum, penetrare sorores
Mecum unâ Aonias, illic exordia gentis
Prima novæ ad seros transmittere posse nepotes!
Sed me fata vetant, memoraturúmque canorâ [III. 141.]
Inclyta facta tubâ, ad clades miserabilis Istri
Invitum retrahunt. His his me fata reservent:
Non deerit vates, illo qui cantet in orbe
Aut veteres populos, aut nostro incognita cœlo
Munera naturæ; dum spreto Helicone manebit
Illa Aganippæis sacrata Oxonia Musis.
Dum loquor in viridi festinant gramine Nymphæ,
Impediuntque comas lauro, & florentis olivæ
Frondibus armantur, dominatricemque frequentes
Oceani immensi longè venerantur Elisam.
Illa autem ad gelidum celsis de turribus amnem
Prospicit, & jamjam Tamesino in patre tuetur
Paulatim obliquis Gilebertum albescere velis.

Sic dea Peliaco spectasse è vertice Pallas
Fertur Jasonios comites, ad Phasidos undas
Vix benè dum notis committere carbasa ventis.
Diva fave, nutuque tuo suscepta parari
Vela juva; Si sola geris dignissima totum
Talibus auspiciis proferri sceptra per orbem.
Propterea quia sola tuos ita pace beasti
Tranquilla populos, ut jam te principe possint
Augere imperii fines. Quia sola videris
Quo niveæ Charites, quo corpore Delia virgo
Pingitur, & justo si sit pro teste vetustas.
Talibus audimus quondam de matribus ortos
Semideos homines: tali est de sanguine magnus
Sive Hector genitus, sive Hectore major Achilles:
Duntaxat sine fraude ulla, sine crimine possint
Ulla tibi veterum conferri nomina matrum,
Quæ sexum factis superas, quæ patribus audes,
Nympha, diis dignas laudes æquare Latinis.
Mentior infœlix, nisi sic in corpore virtus
Lucet formoso, ceu quæ preciosior auro est
Gemma, tamen pariter placituro clauditur auro.
Mentior, & taceo, nisi sola audiris ubique
Induperatorum timor aut amor, inter & omnes
Securam requiem peragis tutissima casus:
Dum reliqui reges duro quasi carcere clausi
Sollicitis lethi dapibus, plenoque fruuntur
Terrificis monstris furtiva per ocia somno.
Mentior & taceo, solam nisi vivere cives
Æternùm cupiunt: quando nec verbere torvo,
Nec cædis pœnæve thronum formidine firmas:
Sed tibi tot meritis majestas parta, & inermis
Ad patulos residet custos clementia postes:
Ut quot penè rei justum meruere tribunal,
Tot veniam grato narrent sermone clientes.
Nec tamen admittis, nisi quod justumque piumque
Agnoscit probitas, & quæ potes omnia, solis
Legibus usurpas cautas sanctissima vires.
Nec mala formidas: si quidem quasi fune ligatur

Consilio fortuna tibi: Nullum impia terret
In castris Bellona tuis: Quin pronus adorat
Gradivus tua jussa pater, sequiturque vocantem
Quacunque ingrederis grato victoria plausu.
Dumque fores aliis, vitamque & regna tuetur
Janitor externus, cingunt tua limina cives:
Dumque aliis sordet sapientia regibus, almo [III. 142.]
Pegasidum tu fonte satur, tot Apollinis artes
Aurea vaticina fundis quasi flumina lingua.
Nil nostri invenere dies, nil prisca vetustas
Prodidit, in linguis peragunt commercia nullis
Christiadum gentes, quas te, divina virago,
Justius Aoniæ possint jactare sorores.
Audiit hæc mundus, cunctisque in finibus ardet
Imperio parêre tuo: & quæ fortè recusat
Miratur vires regio tamen. Hinc tua sceptra
Incurva Mahometigenæ cervice salutant:
Hinc tua pugnaces properant ad fœdera Galli:
Dumque sibi metuit toties tibi victus Iberus,
Nescia Romano Germania Marte domari
Quærit amicitias Britonum: procul oscula mittit
Virgineis pedibus Latium, longéque remoti
Pannones in tutos optant coalescere fines.
Quinetiam quæ submisso diademate nuper
Obtulit invictis fascesque fidemque Britannis. *Nova Albion.*
Nonne vides passis ut crinibus horrida dudum
Porrigit ingentem lugubris America dextram?
Et numquid lacrymas, inquit, soror Anglia, nostras
Respicis, & dura nobiscum in sorte gemiscis?
An verò nescisse potes, quæ tempora quantis
Cladibus egerimus? postquam insatiabilis auri,
Nam certè non ullus amor virtutis Iberos
In nostrum migrare solum, pietasve coëgit.
Ex illo, quæ sacra prius væsana litabam
Manibus infernis, sperans meliora, tuumque
Discere posse Deum, jubeor mortalibus aras
Erigere, & mutas statuas truncosque precata
Nescio quod demens Romanum numen adoro.

Cur trahor in terras? si mens est lucida, puris
Cur Deus in cœlis rectâ non quæritur? aut si
A nobis cœlum petitur, cur sæpe videmus
Igne, fame, ferro subigi, quocunque reatu
Oenotriæ sedis majestas læsa labascit?
Non sic relligio, non sic me judice gaudet
Defendi sua regna Deus, quòd si optimus ille est;
Quòd si cuncta potest, & nullis indiget armis.
Mitto queri cædes, exhaustaque mœnia bello:
Mitto queri in viles tot libera corpora servos
Abjecta, immaníque jugum Busiride dignum.
Te tantum fortuna animet tua, te tua virtus:
Si tibi tam plenis habitantur mœnibus urbes,
Ut nisi in excelsum crescant, cœloque minentur
Ædes aëriæ; quanquam latissima, desit
Terra tamen populo: Si tot tua flumina nigrant
Turrigeras arces imitatæ mole carinæ,
Quot non illa natant eadem tua flumina cygni.
Si tibi jam sub sole jacens penetratus utroque est
Mundus, utroque jacens peragrata est terra sub axe.

Hugo Willobeius eques auratus.

Ni frustrà gelidam vectus Wilobeius ad arcton
Illa in gente jacet, cui dum Sol circinat umbras,
Dimidio totus vix forsitan occidit anno.
Ni frustrà quæsivit iter, duraque bipenni

Martinus Frobisherus eques auratus.

Illo Frobiserus reditum sibi in æquore fecit,
Horridum ubi semper pelagus, glacieque perenni
Frigora nativos simulant immitia montes.
[III. 143.]
Ni frustrà per Cimmerios, sylvisque propinqua
Flumina Riphæis eoa profectus ad usque est

Antonius Jenkinsonus.

Mœnia Jencisonus, Persasque & proxima Persis
Bactra, & Bactrorum confines regibus Indos.
Ni frustrà, quod mortali tot secla negarant,

Franciscus Dracus eques auratus.

Hâc tuus immensum nuper Dracus ambiit orbem,
Quà patri Oceano clausas circumdare terras
Concessit natura viam, mediaque meare
Tellure, & duplici secludere littore mundos.
Jam si fortuna, jam si virtute sequare
Digna tua; sunt monstra mihi, sunt vasta gigantum

Corpora, quæ magno cecidisse sub Hercule non sit
Dedecus, Ogigius non quæ aspernetur Iaccus.
Quæ si indigna putas, tantaque in pace beata
Aversare meos multo ut tibi sanguine fines
Invidiosa petas: est nobis terra propinqua,
Et tantum bimari capiens discrimen in Isthmo.
Hanc tibi jamdudum primi invenere Britanni,
Tum cum magnanimus nostra in regione Cabotus *Sebastianus Cabotus.*
Proximus à magno ostendit sua vela Columbo.
Hæc neque vicina nimiùm frigescit ab arcto,
Sole nec immodico in steriles torretur arenas:
Frigus & æstatem justo moderamine servat,
Sive leves auras, grati spiracula cœli,
Seu diæ telluris opes, & munera curas.
Pone age te digno tua sceptra in honore, meoque
Junge salutarem propius cum littore dextram.
Sit mihi fas aliquam per te sperare quietem,
Vicinoque bono lætum illucescere Solem.
Quòd si consiliis superûm, fatisque negatum est
Durare immensum magna infortunia tempus:
Quòd si de immerita justum est cervice revelli
Ignarum imperii dominum, populique regendi;
Quòd si nulla unquam potuit superesse potestas,
Ni pia flexilibus pareret clementia frenis
Obsequium. A miti quæsita potentia Cyro
Amissa est sævæ soboli. Parcendo subegit
Tot reges Macedum virtus, tot postera sensim
Abscidit a parto tandem inclementia regno.
Et quod Romuleis crevit sub patribus olim
Imperium, diri semper minuêre Nerones.

[A report

A report of the voyage and successe thereof, attempted in the yeere of our Lord 1583 by sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, with other gentlemen assisting him in that action, intended to discover and to plant Christian inhabitants in place convenient, upon those large and ample countreys extended Northward from the cape of Florida, lying under very temperate Climes, esteemed fertile and rich in Minerals, yet not in the actuall possession of any Christian prince, written by M. Edward Haie gentleman, and principall actour in the same voyage, who alone continued unto the end, and by Gods speciall assistance returned home with his retinue safe and entire.

MAny voyages have bene pretended, yet hitherto never any thorowly accomplished by our nation of exact discovery into the bowels of those maine, ample and vast countreys, extended infinitely into the North from 30 degrees, or rather from 25 degrees of Septentrionall latitude, neither hath a right way bene taken of planting a Christian habitation and regiment upon the same, as well may appeare both by the little we yet do actually [III. 144] possesse therein, & by our ignorance of the riches and secrets within those lands, which unto this day we know chiefly by the travell and report of other nations, and most of the French, who albeit they can not challenge such right and interest unto the sayd countreys as we, neither these many yeeres have had opportunity nor meanes so great to discover and to plant (being vexed with the calamities of intestine warres) as we have had by the inestimable benefit of our long and happy peace:

yet have they both waies performed more, and had long since attained a sure possession and setled government of many provinces in those Northerly parts of America, if their many attempts into those forren and remote lands had not bene impeached by their garboils at home.

The coasts from Florida Northward first discovered by the English nation.

The first discovery of these coasts (never heard of before) was well begun by John Cabot the father, and Sebastian his sonne, an Englishman borne, who were the first finders out of all that great tract of land stretching from the cape of Florida unto those Islands which we now call the Newfoundland: all which they brought and annexed unto the crowne of England. Since when, if with like diligence the search of inland countreys had bene followed, as the discovery upon the coast, and out-parts therof was performed by those two men: no doubt her Majesties territories and revenue had bene mightily inlarged and advanced by this day. And which is more; the seed of Christian religion had bene sowed amongst those pagans, which by this time might have brought foorth a most plentifull harvest and copious congregation of Christians; which must be the chiefe intent of such as shall make any attempt that way: or els whatsoever is builded upon other foundation shall never obtaine happy successe nor continuance.

And although we can not precisely judge (which onely belongeth to God) what have bene the humours of men stirred up to great attempts of discovering and planting in those remote countreys, yet the events do shew that either Gods cause hath not bene chiefly preferred by them, or els God hath not permitted so abundant grace as the light of his word and knowledge of him to be yet revealed unto those infidels before the appointed time.

But most assuredly, the only cause of religion hitherto hath kept backe, and will also bring forward at the time assigned by God, an effectuall and compleat discovery & possession by Christians both of those ample countreys and the riches within them hitherto concealed: whereof notwithstanding God in his wisdome hath permitted to

be revealed from time to time a certaine obscure and misty knowledge, by little and little to allure the mindes of men that way (which els will be dull enough in the zeale of his cause) and thereby to prepare us unto a readinesse for the execution of his will against the due time ordeined, of calling those pagans unto Christianity.

A fit consideration.

In the meane while, it behooveth every man of great calling, in whom is any instinct of inclination unto this attempt, to examine his owne motions: which if the same proceed of ambition or avarice, he may assure himselfe it commeth not of God, and therefore can not have confidence of Gods protection and assistance against the violence (els irresistable) both of sea, and infinite perils upon the land; whom God yet may use an instrument to further his cause and glory some way, but not to build upon so bad a foundation.

Otherwise, if his motives be derived from a vertuous & heroycall minde, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compassion of poore infidels captived by the devill, tyrannizing in most woonderfull and dreadfull maner over their bodies and soules; advancement of his honest and well disposed countreymen, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions; reliefe of sundry people within this realme distressed: all these be honorable purposes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherwith he is well pleased, who will assist such an actour beyond expectation of man. And the same, who feeleth this inclination in himselfe, by all likelihood may hope, or rather confidently repose in the preordinance of God, that in this last age of the world (or likely never) the time is compleat of receiving also these Gentiles into his mercy, and that God will raise him an instrument to effect the same: it seeming probable by event of precedent attempts made by the Spanyards and French sundry times, that the countreys lying North of Florida, God hath reserved the same to be reduced unto Christian civility by the English nation. For not long after that Christopher Columbus had discovered the Islands and continent of

Probable conjecturesy these lands North of Florida, are reserved for the English nation to possesse.

the West Indies for Spaine, John and Sebastian Cabot made discovery also of the rest from Florida Northwards to the behoofe of England.

The Spanyards prosperous in the Southerne discoveries, yet unhappy in these Northerne.

And whensoever afterwards the Spanyards (very prosperous in all their Southerne discoveries) did attempt any thing into Florida and those regions inclining towards the North, they proved most unhappy, and were at length discouraged utterly by the hard and lamentable successe of many both religious and valiant in armes, endevouring to bring those Northerly regions also under the Spanish jurisdiction; as if God had prescribed limits unto the Spanish nation which they might not exceed: as by their owne gests recorded may be aptly gathered.

[III. 145.]

The French are but usurpers upon our right.

The French, as they can pretend lesse title unto these Northerne parts then the Spanyard, by how much the Spanyard made the first discovery of the same continent so far Northward as unto Florida, and the French did but review that before discovered by the English nation, usurping upon our right, and imposing names upon countreys, rivers, bayes, capes, or headlands, as if they had bene the first finders of those coasts; which injury we offered not unto the Spanyards, but left off to discover when we approched the Spanish limits: even so God hath not hitherto permitted them to establish a possession permanent upon anothers right, notwithstanding their manifolde attempts, in which the issue hath bene no lesse tragicall then that of the Spanyards, as by their owne reports is extant.

The French also infortunate in those North parts of America.

A good incouragement for the English nation, to proceed in the conquests of the North of America.

Then seeing the English nation onely hath right unto these countreys of America from the cape of Florida Northward by the privilege of first discovery, unto which Cabot was authorised by regall authority, and set forth by the expense of our late famous king Henry the seventh: which right also seemeth strongly defended on our behalfe by the powerfull hand of almighty God, withstanding the enterprises of other nations: it may greatly incourage us upon so just ground, as is our right, and upon so sacred an intent, as to plant religion (our right

and intent being meet foundations for the same) to prosecute effectually the full possession of those so ample and pleasant countreys apperteining unto the crowne of England: the same (as is to be conjectured by infallible arguments of the worlds end approching) being now arrived unto the time by God prescribed of their vocation, if ever their calling unto the knowledge of God may be expected. Which also is very probable by the revolution and course of Gods word and religion, which from the beginning hath moved from the East, towards, & at last unto the West, where it is like to end, unlesse the same begin againe where it did in the East, which were to expect a like world againe. But we are assured of the contrary by the prophesie of Christ, whereby we gather, that after his word preached thorowout the world shalbe the end. And as the Gospel when it descended Westward began in the South, and afterward spread into the North of Europe: even so, as the same hath begunne in the South countreys of America, no lesse hope may be gathered that it will also spread into the North.

The due time approcheth by all likelihood of calling these heathens unto Christianity. The word of God moveth circularly.

These considerations may helpe to suppresse all dreads rising of hard events in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heavy successe and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our countryman sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, who was the first of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and government in those Northerly countreys of America. About which, albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leave unto God, and judge charitably both of the cause (which was just in all pretence) and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deserving honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expense of life in so vertuous an enterprise. Whereby neverthelesse, least any man should be dismayd by example of other folks calamity, and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way: I thought good, so farre as my selfe

was an eye witnesse, to deliver the circumstance and maner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was so infortunately incumbred with wants, and woorse matched with many ill disposed people, that his rare judgement and regiment premeditated for those affaires, was subjected to tolerate abuses, & in sundry extremities to holde on a course, more to upholde credit, then likely in his owne conceit happily to succeed.

The issue of such actions, being alwayes miserable, not guided by God, who abhorreth confusion and disorder, hath left this for admonition (being the first attempt by our nation to plant) unto such as shall take the same cause in hand hereafter not to be discouraged from it: but to make men well advised how they handle his so high and excellent matters, as the cariage is of his word into those very mighty and vast countreys. An action doubtlesse not to be intermedled with base purposes; as many have made the same but a colour to shadow actions otherwise scarse justifiable: which doth excite Gods heavy judgements in the end, to the terrifying of weake mindes from the cause, without pondering his just proceedings: and doth also incense forren princes against our attempts how just soever, who can not but deeme the sequele very dangerous unto their state (if in those parts we should grow to strength) seeing the very beginnings are entred with spoile.

The planting of Gods word must be handled with reverence.

Ill actions coloured by pretence of planting upon remote lands.

And with this admonition denounced upon zeale towards Gods cause, also towards those in whom appeareth disposition honourable unto this action of planting Christian people and religion in those remote and barbarous nations of America (unto whom I wish all happinesse) I will now proceed to make relation briefly, yet particularly, of our voyage undertaken with sir Humfrey Gilbert, begun, continued, and ended adversly.

[III. 146.]

When first Sir Humfrey Gilbert undertooke the Westerne discovery of America, and had procured from her Majesty a very large commission to inhabit & possesse at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actuall

The first and great preparation of sir Humfrey Gilbert.

possession of any Christian prince, the same commission exemplified with many privileges, such as in his discretion he might demand, very many gentlemen of good estimation drew unto him, to associate him in so commendable an enterprise, so that the preparation was expected to grow unto a puissant fleet, able to encounter a kings power by sea: neverthelesse, amongst a multitude of voluntary men, their dispositions were divers, which bred a jarre, and made a division in the end, to the confusion of that attempt even before the same was begun. And when the shipping was in a maner prepared, & men ready upon the coast to go aboord: at that time some brake consort, and followed courses degenerating from the voyage before pretended: Others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed, leaving the Generall with few of his assured friends, with whom he adventured to sea: where having tasted of no lesse misfortune, he was shortly driven to retire home with the losse of a tall ship, and (more to his griefe) of a valiant gentleman Miles Morgan.

A constant resolution of sir Humfrey Gilbert.

Having buried onely in a preparation a great masse of substance, wherby his estate was impaired, his minde yet not dismaid, he continued his former designment & purpose to revive this enterprise, good occasion serving. Upon which determination standing long, without meanes to satisfy his desire; at last he granted certaine assignments out of his commission to sundry persons of meane ability, desiring the privilege of his grant, to plant & fortifie in the North parts of America about the river of Canada, to whom if God gave good successe in the North parts (where then no matter of moment was expected) the same (he thought) would greatly advance the hope of the South, & be a furtherance unto his determination that way. And the worst that might happen in that course might be excused without prejudice unto him by the former supposition, that those North regions were of no regard: but chiefly a possession taken in any parcell of those heathen countreys, by vertue of his grant, did

invest him of territories extending every way two hundred leagues: which induced sir Humfry Gilbert to make those assignments, desiring greatly their expedition, because his commission did expire after six yeres, if in that space he had not gotten actuall possession.

A second preparation of sir Humfrey Gilbert.

Time went away without any thing done by his assignes: insomuch that at last he must resolve himselfe to take a voyage in person, for more assurance to keepe his patent in force, which then almost was expired, or within two yeres.

In furtherance of his determination, amongst others, sir George Peckam knight shewed himselfe very zealous to the action, greatly aiding him both by his advice & in the charge. Other gentlemen to their ability joyned unto him, resolving to adventure their substance & lives in the same cause. Who beginning their preparation from that time, both of shipping, munition, victual, men, and things requisit, some of them continued the charge two yeres compleat without intermission. Such were the difficulties and crosse accidents opposing these proceedings, which tooke not end in lesse then two yeres: many of which circumstances I will omit.

The last place of our assembly, before we left the coast of England, was in Causet bay neere unto Plimmouth: then resolved to put unto the sea with shipping and provision, such as we had, before our store yet remaining, but chiefly the time and season of the yeere, were too farre spent. Neverthelesse it seemed first very doubtfull by what way to shape our course, and to begin our intended discovery, either from the South Northward, or from the North Southward.

Consultation about our course.

The first, that is, beginning South, without all controversie was the likeliest, wherein we were assured to have commodity of the current, which from the cape of Florida setteth Northward, and would have furthered greatly our navigation, discovering from the foresayd cape along towards cape Briton, and all those lands lying to the North.

Commodities in discovering from South Northward.

Also the yere being farre spent, and arrived to the moneth of June, we were not to spend time in Northerly courses, where we should be surprised with timely Winter, but to covet the south, which we had space enough then to have attained; and there might with lesse detriment have wintred that season, being more milde and short in the South then in the North where winter is both long and rigorous.

These and other like reasons alleged in favour of the Southerne course first to be taken, to the contrary was inferred: that forasmuch as both our victuals, and many other needfull provisions were diminished and left insufficient for so long a voyage, and for the wintering of so many men, we ought to shape a course most likely to minister supply; and that was to take the Newfoundland in our way, which was but seven hundred leagues from our English coast. Where being usually at that time of the yere, and untill the fine of August, a multitude of ships repairing thither for fish, we should be relieved abundantly with many necessaries, which after the fishing ended, they might well spare, and freely impart unto us.

[III. 147.] Not staying long upon that Newland coast, we might proceed Southward, and follow still the Sunne, untill we arrived at places more temperate to our content.

Cause why we began our discovery from the North.

By which reasons we were the rather induced to follow this Northerly course, obeying unto necessity, which must be supplied. Otherwise, we doubted that sudden approch of Winter, bringing with it continuall fogge, and thicke mists, tempest and rage of weather; also

Incommodities in beginning North.

contrariety of currents descending from the cape of Florida unto cape Briton and cape Rase, would fall out to be great and irresistable impediments unto our further proceeding for that yeere, and compell us to Winter in those North and colde regions.

Wherefore suppressing all objections to the contrary, we resolved to begin our course Northward, and to follow directly as we might, the trade way unto Newfoundland:

from whence after our refreshing and reparation of wants, we intended without delay (by Gods permission) to proceed into the South, not omitting any river or bay which in all that large tract of land appeared to our view worthy of search. Immediatly we agreed upon the maner of our course and orders to be observed in our voyage; which were delivered in writing unto the captaines and masters of every ship a copy in maner following.

Every shippe had delivered two bullets or scrowles, the one sealed up in waxe, the other left open: in both which were included severall watch-words. That open, serving upon our owne coast or the coast of Ireland: the other sealed, was promised on all hands not to be broken up untill we should be cleere of the Irish coast; which from thencefoorth did serve untill we arrived and met altogether in such harbors of the Newfoundland as were agreed for our Rendez vouz. The sayd watch-words being requisite to know our consorts whensoever by night, either by fortune of weather, our fleet dispersed should come together againe; or one should hale another; or if by ill watch and steerage one ship should chance to fall aboord of another in the darke.

The reason of the bullet sealed was to keepe secret that watch-word while we were upon our owne coast, lest any of the company stealing from the fleet might bewray the same: which knowen to an enemy, he might boord us by night without mistrust, having our owne watch-word.

Orders agreed upon by the Captaines and Masters to be observed by the fleet of Sir Humfrey Gilbert.

FIrst the Admirall to cary his flag by day, and his light by night.

2 Item, if the Admirall shall shorten his saile by night, then to shew two lights untill he be answered againe by every ship shewing one light for a short time.

3 Item, if the Admirall after his shortening of saile, as aforesayd, shall make more saile againe: then he to shew three lights one above another.

4 Item, if the Admirall shall happen to hull in the night, then to make a wavering light over his other light, wavering the light upon a pole.

5 Item, if the fleet should happen to be scattered weather, or other mishap, then so soone as one shall descry another, to hoise both toppe sailes twise, if the weather will serve, and to strike them twise againe; but if the weather serve not, then to hoise the maine top saile twise, and forthwith to strike it twise againe.

6 Item, if it shall happen a great fogge to fall, then presently every shippe to beare up with the admirall, if there be winde: but if it be a calme, then every ship to hull, and so to lie at hull till it be cleere. And if the fogge do continue long, then the Admirall to shoot off two pieces every evening, and every ship to answere it with one shot: and every man bearing to the ship, that is to leeward so neere as he may.

7 Item, every master to give charge unto the watch to looke out well, for laying aboord one of another in the night, and in fogges.

8 Item, every evening every ship to haile the admirall, and so to fall asterne him, sailing thorow the Ocean: and being on the coast, every ship to haile him both morning and evening.

9 Item, if any ship be in danger any way, by leake or otherwise, then she to shoot off a piece, and presently to hang out one light, whereupon every man to beare towards her, answering her with one light for a short time, and so to put it out againe; thereby to give knowledge that they have seene her token.

10 Item, whensoever the Admirall shall hang out her ensigne in the maine shrowds, then every man to come aboord her, as a token of counsell.

11 Item, if there happen any storme or contrary winde to the fleet after the discovery, whereby they are separated:

then every ship to repaire unto their last good port, there to meet againe.

Our course agreed upon. [III. 148.]

THe course first to be taken for the discovery is to beare directly to cape Rase, the most Southerly cape of Newfound land; and there to harbour our selves either in Rogneux or Fermous, being the first places appointed for our Rendez vous, and the next harbours unto the Northward of cape Rase: and therefore every ship separated from the fleet to repaire to that place so fast as God shall permit, whether you shall fall to the Southward or to the Northward of it, and there to stay for the meeting of the whole fleet the space of ten dayes: and when you shall depart, to leave marks.

A direction of our course unto the Newfound land.

BEginning our course from Silley, the neerest is by Westsouthwest (if the winde serve) untill such time as we have brought our selves in the latitude of 43 or 44 degrees, because the Ocean is subject much to Southerly windes in June and July. Then to take traverse from 45 to 47 degrees of latitude, if we be inforced by contrary windes: and not to go to the Northward of the height of 47 degrees of Septentrionall latitude by no meanes: if God shall not inforce the contrary; but to do your indevour to keepe in the height of 46 degrees, so nere as you can possibly, because cape Rase lieth about that height.

Notes.

IF by contrary windes we be driven backe upon the coast of England, then to repaire unto Silley for a place of our assembly or meeting.

If we be driven backe by contrary winds that we can

not passe the coast of Ireland, then the place of our assembly to be at Beare haven or Baltimore haven.

If we shall not happen to meete at cape Rase, then the place of Rendez vous to be at cape Briton, or the neerest harbour unto the Westward of cape Briton.

If by meanes of other shipping we may not safely stay there, then to rest at the very next safe port to the Westward; every ship leaving their marks behinde them for the more certainty of the after commers to know where to finde them.

The marks that every man ought to leave in such a case, were of the Generals private device written by himselfe, sealed also in close waxe, and delivered unto every shippe one scroule, which was not to be opened untill occasion required, whereby every man was certified what to leave for instruction of after commers: that every of us comming into any harbour or river might know who had bene there, or whether any were still there up higher into the river, or departed, and which way.

Beginning of the voyage.

Orders thus determined, and promises mutually given to be observed, every man withdrew himselfe unto his charge, the ankers being already weyed, and our shippes under saile, having a soft gale of winde, we began our voyage upon Tuesday the eleventh day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1583, having in our fleet (at our departure from Causet bay) these shippes, whose names and burthens, with the names of the captaines and masters of them, I have also inserted, as followeth:

1 The Delight aliâs The George, of burthen 120 tunnes, was Admirall: in which went the Generall, and William Winter captaine in her and part owner, and Richard Clearke master.

2 The Barke Raleigh set forth by M. Walter Raleigh, of the burthen of 200 tunnes, was then Vice-admirall: in which went M. Butler captaine, and Robert Davis, of Bristoll master.

3 The Golden hinde, of burthen 40 tunnes, was then Reare-admirall: in which went Edward Hayes captaine and owner, and William Cox of Limehouse master.

4 The Swallow, of burthen 40 tunnes: in her was captaine Maurice Browne.

5 The Squirrill, of burthen 10 tunnes: in which went captaine William Andrewes, and one Cade master.

Our fleet consisted of five sailes, in which we had about 260 men.

We were in number in all about 260 men: among whom we had of every faculty good choice, as Shipwrights, Masons, Carpenters, Smithes, and such like, requisite to such an action: also Minerall men and Refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the Savages, we were provided of Musike in good variety: not omitting the least toyes, as Morris dancers, Hobby horsse, and Maylike conceits to delight the Savage people, whom we intended to winne by all faire meanes possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdasherie wares to barter with those simple people.

Provisions fit for such discoveries.

[III. 149.]

June 11.

In this maner we set forward, departing (as hath bene said) out of Causon bay the eleventh day of June being Tuesday, the weather and winde faire and good all day, but a great storme of thunder and winde fell the same night.

June 13.

Thursday following, when we hailed one another in the evening (according to the order before specified) they signified unto us out of the Vizadmirall, that both the Captaine, and very many of the men were fallen sicke. And about midnight the Vizeadmirall forsooke us, notwithstanding we had the winde East, faire and good. But it was after credibly reported, that they were infected with a contagious sicknesse, and arrived greatly distressed at Plimmoth: the reason I could never understand. Sure I am, no cost was spared by their owner Master Raleigh in setting them forth: Therefore I leave it unto God.

Observe.

By this time we were in 48 degrees of latitude, not a little grieved with the losse of the most puissant ship in

our fleete: after whose departure, the Golden Hind succeeded in the place of Vizadmirall, and remooved her flagge from the mizon unto the foretop.

June 15. From Saturday the 15 of June untill the 28, which was upon a Friday, we never had faire day without fogge or raine, and windes bad, much to the West northwest, whereby we were driven Southward unto 41 degrees scarse.

About this time of the yere the winds are commonly West towards the Newfound land, keeping ordinarily within two points of West to the South or to the North, whereby the course thither falleth out to be long and tedious after June, which in March, Apriell & May, hath bene performed out of England in 22 dayes and lesse. We had winde alwayes so scant from West northwest, and from West southwest againe, that our traverse was great, running South unto 41 degrees almost, and afterward North into 51 degrees.

July 20. *Great fogges upon the Ocean sea Northward.* Also we were incombred with much fogge and mists in maner palpable, in which we could not keepe so well together, but were dissevered, losing the companie of the Swallow and the Squirrill upon the 20. day of July, whom we met againe at severall places upon the Newfound land coast the third of August, as shalbe declared in place convenient.

July 27. Saturday the 27 of July, we might descry not farre from us, as it were mountaines of yce driven upon the sea, being then in 50 degrees, which were caried Southward to the weather of us: whereby may be conjectured that some current doth set that way from the North.

The banke in length unknowen, stretcheth from North into South, in bredth 10. *leagues, in depth of water upon it* 30. *fadome.* Before we come to Newfound land about 50 leagues on this side, we passe the banke, which are high grounds rising within the sea and under water, yet deepe enough and without danger, being commonly not lesse then 25 and 30 fadome water upon them: the same (as it were some vaine of mountaines within the sea) doe runne along, and from the Newfound land, beginning Northward about 52 or 53 degrees of latitude, & do extend

into the South infinitly. The bredth of this banke is somewhere more, and somewhere lesse: but we found the same about 10 leagues over, having sounded both on this side thereof, and the other toward Newfound land, but found no ground with almost 200 fadome of line, both before & after we had passed the banke. The Portugals, and French chiefly, have a notable trade of fishing upon this banke, where are sometimes an hundred or more sailes of ships: who commonly beginne the fishing in Apriell, and have ended by July. That fish is large, alwayes wet, having no land neere to drie, and is called Corre fish.

A great fishing upon ye banke.

During the time of fishing, a man shall know without sounding when he is upon the banke, by the incredible multitude of sea foule hovering over the same, to pray upon the offalles & garbish of fish throwen out by fishermen, and floting upon the sea.

Abundance of foules.

Upon Tuesday the 11 of June, we forsooke the coast of England. So againe Tuesday the 30 of July (seven weekes after) we got sight of land, being immediatly embayed in the Grand bay, or some other great bay: the certainty whereof we could not judge, so great hase and fogge did hang upon the coast, as neither we might discerne the land well, nor take the sunnes height. But by our best computation we were then in the 51 degrees of latitude.

July 30. *First sight of land.*

Forsaking this bay and uncomfortable coast (nothing appearing unto us but hideous rockes and mountaines, bare of trees, and voide of any greene herbe) we followed the coast to the South, with weather faire and cleare.

We had sight of an Iland named Penguin, of a foule there breeding in abundance, almost incredible, which cannot flie, their wings not able to carry their body, being very large (not much lesse then a goose) and exceeding fat: which the French men use to take without difficulty upon that Iland, and to barrell them up with salt. But for lingering of time we had made us there the like provision.

Iland and a foule named Penguin.

A.D. 1583. [III. 150.]

An Iland called Baccalaos, the fish taken there.

Trending this coast, we came to the Iland called Baccalaos, being not past two leagues from the maine: to the South therof lieth Cape S. Francis, 5. leagues distant from Baccalaos, between which goeth in a great bay, by the vulgar sort called the bay of Conception. Here we met with the Swallow againe, whom we had lost in the fogge, and all her men altered into other apparell: wherof it seemed their store was so amended, that for joy and congratulation of our meeting, they spared not to cast up into the aire and overboord, their caps & hats in good plenty. The Captaine albeit himselfe was very honest and religious, yet was he not appointed of men to his humor and desert: who for the most part were such as had bene by us surprised upon the narrow seas of England, being pirats and had taken at that instant certaine Frenchmen laden, one barke with wines, and another with salt. Both which we rescued, & tooke the man of warre with all her men, which was the same ship now called the Swallow, following still their kind so oft, as (being separated from the Generall) they found opportunitie to robbe and spoile. And because Gods justice did follow the same company, even to destruction, and to the overthrow also of the Captaine (though not consenting to their misdemeanor) I will not conceale any thing that maketh to the manifestation and approbation of his judgements, for examples of others, perswaded that God more sharpely tooke revenge upon them, and hath tolerated longer as great outrage in others: by how much these went under protection of his cause and religion, which was then pretended.

Misdemeanor of them in the Swallow.

Therefore upon further enquiry it was knowen, how this company met with a barke returning home after the fishing with his fraight: and because the men in the Swallow were very neere scanted of victuall, and chiefly of apparell, doubtful withall where or when to find and meete with their Admiral, they besought the captaine they might go aboord this Newlander, only to borrow what might be spared, the rather because the same

was bound homeward. Leave given, not without charge to deale favorably, they came aboord the fisherman, whom they rifled of tackle, sailes, cables, victuals, & the men of their apparell: not sparing by torture (winding cords about their heads) to draw out else what they thought good. This done with expedition (like men skilfull in such mischiefe) as they tooke their cocke boate to go aboord their own ship, it was overwhelmed in the sea, and certaine of these men there drowned: the rest were preserved even by those silly soules whom they had before spoyled, who saved and delivered them aboord the Swallow. What became afterward of the poore Newlander, perhaps destitute of sayles and furniture sufficient to carry them home (whither they had not lesse to runne then 700 leagues) God alone knoweth, who tooke vengeance not long after of the rest that escaped at this instant: to reveale the fact, and justifie to the world Gods judgements inflicted upon them, as shalbe declared in place convenient.

Thus after we had met with the Swallow, we held on our course Southward, untill we came against the harbor called S. John, about 5 leagues from the former Cape of S. Francis: where before the entrance into the harbor, we found also the Frigate or Squirrill lying at anker. Whom the English marchants (that were & alwaies be Admirals by turnes interchangeably over the fleetes of fishermen within the same harbor) would not permit to enter into the harbor. Glad of so happy meeting both of the Swallow and Frigate in one day (being Saturday the 3. of August) we made readie our fights, & prepared to enter the harbor, any resistance to the contrarie notwithstanding, there being within of all nations, to the number of 36 sailes. But first the Generall dispatched a boat to give them knowledge of his comming for no ill intent, having Commission from her Majestie for his voiage he had in hand. And immediatly we followed with a slacke gale, and in the very entrance (which is but narrow, not above 2 buts length) the Admirall fell upon

English ships are the strongest and Admirals of other fleetes, fishing upon the South parts of Newfound land.

a rocke on the larboord side by great oversight, in that the weather was faire, the rocke much above water fast by the shore, where neither went any sea gate. But we found such readinesse in the English Marchants to helpe us in that danger, that without delay there were brought a number of boates, which towed off the ship, and cleared her of danger.

Having taken place convenient in the road, we let fall ankers, the Captaines and Masters repairing aboord our Admirall: whither also came immediatly the Masters and owners of the fishing fleete of Englishmen, to understand the Generals intent and cause of our arrivall there. They were all satisfied when the General had shewed his commission, and purpose to take possession of those lands to the behalfe of the crowne of England, and the advancement of Christian religion in those Paganish regions, requiring but their lawfull ayde for repayring of his fleete, and supply of some necessaries, so farre as conveniently might be afforded him, both out of that and other habors adjoyning. In lieu whereof, he made offer to gratifie them, with any favour and priviledge, which upon their better advise they should demand, the like being not to bee obteyned hereafter for greater price. So craving expedition of his demand, minding to proceede further South without long detention in those partes, he [III. 151.] dismissed them, after promise given of their best indevour to satisfie speedily his so reasonable request. The marchants with their Masters departed, they caused foorthwith to be discharged all the great Ordinance of their fleete in token of our welcome.

Good order taken by English marchants for our supply in Newfound land.

It was further determined that every ship of our fleete should deliver unto the marchants and Masters of that harbour a note of all their wants: which done, the ships aswell English as strangers, were taxed at an easie rate to make supply. And besides, Commissioners were appointed, part of our owne companie and part of theirs, to go into other harbours adjoyning (for our English marchants command all there) to leavie our provision:

whereunto the Portugals (above other nations) did most willingly and liberally contribute. Insomuch as we were presented (above our allowance) with wines, marmalads, most fine ruske or bisket, sweet oyles and sundry delicacies. Also we wanted not of fresh salmons, trouts, lobsters and other fresh fish brought daily unto us. Moreover as the maner is in their fishing, every weeke to choose their Admirall a new, or rather they succeede in orderly course, and have weekely their Admirals feast solemnized: even so the General, Captaines and masters of our fleete were continually invited and feasted. To grow short, in our abundance at home, the intertainment had bene delightfull, but after our wants and tedious passage through the Ocean, it seemed more acceptable and of greater contentation, by how much the same was unexpected in that desolate corner of the world: where at other times of the yeare, wilde beasts and birds have only the fruition of all those countries, which now seemed a place very populous and much frequented.

Good entertainment in Newfound land. No Savages in the South part of Newfound land.

The next morning being Sunday and the 4 of August, the Generall and his company were brought on land by English marchants, who shewed unto us their accustomed walks unto a place they call the Garden. But nothing appeared more then Nature it selfe without art: who confusedly hath brought foorth roses abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to sense very comfortable. Also the like plentie of raspis berries, which doe grow in every place.

August 4.

Munday following, the General had his tent set up, who being accompanied with his own followers, sommoned the marchants and masters, both English and strangers to be present at his taking possession of those Countries. Before whom openly was read & interpreted unto the strangers his Commission: by vertue whereof he tooke possession in the same harbour of S. John, and 200 leagues every way, invested the Queenes Majestie with the title and dignitie thereof, had delivered unto him (after the custome of England) a rod & a turffe of

August 5.

Possession taken.

the same soile, entring possession also for him, his heires and assignes for ever: And signified unto al men, that from that time forward, they should take the same land as a territorie appertaining to the Queene of England, and himselfe authorised under her Majestie to possesse and enjoy it. And to ordaine lawes for the governement thereof, agreeable (so neere as conveniently might be) unto the lawes of England: under which all people comming thither hereafter, either to inhabite, or by way of traffique, should be subjected and governed. And especially at the same time for a beginning, he proposed & delivered three lawes to be in force immediatly. That *Three Lawes.* is to say: the first for Religion, which in publique exercise should be according to the Church of England. The 2. for maintenance of her Majesties right and possession of those territories, against which if any thing were attempted prejudiciall, the partie or parties offending should be adjudged and executed as in case of high treason, according to the lawes of England. The 3. if any person should utter words sounding to the dishonour of her Majestie, he should loose his eares, and have his ship and goods confiscate.

These contents published, obedience was promised by generall voyce and consent of the multitude aswell of Englishmen as strangers, praying for continuance of this possession and governement begun. After this, the assembly was dismissed. And afterward were erected not farre from that place the Armes of England ingraven *Actuall possession maintained in Newfoundland.* in lead, and infixed upon a pillar of wood. Yet further and actually to establish this possession taken in the right of her Majestie, and to the behoofe of Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, his heires and assignes for ever: the Generall granted in fee farme divers parcels of land lying by the water side, both in this harbor of S. John, and elsewhere, which was to the owners a great commoditie, being thereby assured (by their proper inheritance) of grounds convenient to dresse and to drie their fish, whereof many times before they did faile, being prevented

by them that came first into the harbor. For which grounds they did covenant to pay a certaine rent and service unto sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes for ever, and yeerely to maintaine possession of the same, by themselves or their assignes.

Men appointed to make search.

Now remained only to take in provision granted, according as every shippe was taxed, which did fish upon the coast adjoyning. In the meane while, the Generall appointed men unto their charge: some to repaire and trim the ships, others to attend in gathering togither our supply and provisions: others to search the commodities and singularities of the countrey, to be found by sea or land, and to make relation unto the Generall what [III. 152.] eyther themselves could knowe by their owne travaile and experience, or by good intelligence of English men or strangers, who had longest frequented the same coast. Also some observed the elevation of the pole, and drewe plats of the countrey exactly graded. And by that I could gather by each mans severall relation, I have drawen a briefe description of the Newfound land, with the commodities by sea or lande alreadie made, and such also as are in possibilitie and great likelihood to be made: Neverthelesse the Cardes and plats that were drawing, with the due gradation of the harbors, bayes, and capes, did perish with the Admirall: wherefore in the description following, I must omit the particulars of such things.

A briefe relation of the New found lande, and the commodities thereof.

New found land is al Islands or broken lands

THat which we doe call the Newfound land, and the Frenchmen Bacalaos, is an Iland, or rather (after the opinion of some) it consisteth of sundry Ilands and broken lands, situate in the North regions of America, upon the gulfe and entrance of the great river called S. Laurence in Canada. Into the which, navigation may be made both on the South and North side of this Iland. The land

lyeth South and North, containing in length betweene three & 400 miles, accounting from cape Race (which is in 46 degrees 25 minuts) unto the Grand bay in 52 degrees of Septentrionall latitude. The Iland round about hath very many goodly bayes and harbors, safe roads for ships, the like not to be found in any part of the knowen world.

Goodly roads and harbours.

The common opinion that is had of intemperature & extreme cold that should be in this countrey, as of some part it may be verified, namely the North, where I grant it is more colde then in countries of Europe, which are under the same elevation: even so it cannot stand with reason and nature of the clime, that the South parts should be so intemperate as the brute hath gone. For as the same doe lie under the climats of Briton, Anjou, Poictou in France, betweene 46 and 49 degrees, so can they not so much differ from the temperature of those countries: unlesse upon the outcoast lying open unto the Ocean and sharpe windes, it must in deede be subject to more colde, then further within the land, where the mountaines are interposed, as walles and bulwarkes, to defend and to resist the asperitie and rigor of the sea and weather. Some hold opinion, that the Newfound land might be the more subject to cold, by how much it lyeth high and neere unto the middle region. I grant that not in Newfound land alone, but in Germany, Italy and Afrike, even under the Equinoctiall line, the mountaines are extreme cold, and seeldome uncovered of snow, in their culme and highest tops, which commeth to passe by the same reason that they are extended towards the middle region: yet in the countries lying beneth them, it is found quite contrary. Even so all hils having their discents, the valleis also and low grounds must be likewise hot or temperate, as the clime doeth give in Newfound land: though I am of opinion that the Sunnes reflection is much cooled, and cannot be so forcible in the Newfound land, nor generally throughout America, as in Europe or Afrike: by how much the

New found land is habitable.

Cold by accidental meanes.

Sunne in his diurnall course from East to West, passeth over (for the most part) dry land and sandy countries, before he arriveth at the West of Europe or Afrike, whereby his motion increaseth heate, with little or no qualification by moyst vapours. Where, on the contrarie he passeth from Europe and Afrike unto America over the Ocean, from whence it draweth and carieth with him abundance of moyst vapours, which doe qualifie and infeeble greatly the Sunnes reverberation upon this countrey chiefly of Newfound land, being so much to the Northward. Neverthelesse (as I sayd before) the cold cannot be so intollerable under the latitude of 46 47 and 48 (especiall within land) that it should be unhabitable, as some doe suppose, seeing also there are very many people more to the North by a great deale. And in these South parts there be certaine beastes, Ounces or Leopards, and birdes in like maner which in the Sommer we have seene, not heard of in countries of extreme and vehement coldnesse. Besides, as in the monethes of June, July, August and September, the heate is somewhat more then in England at those seasons: so men remaining upon the South parts neere unto Cape Rece, untill after Hollandtide, have not found the cold so extreme, nor much differing from the temperature of England. Those which have arrived there after November and December, have found the snow exceeding deepe, whereat no marvaile, considering the ground upon the coast, is rough and uneven, and the snow is driven into the places most declyning as the like is to be seene with us. The like depth of snow happily shall not be found within land upon the playner countries, which also are defended by the mountaines, breaking off [III. 153.] the violence of winds and weather. But admitting extraordinary cold in those South parts, above that with us here: it can not be so great as in Swedland, much lesse in Moscovia or Russia: yet are the same countries very populous, and the rigor of cold is dispensed with by the commoditie of Stoves, warme clothing, meats and drinkes: *Commodities.*

all which neede not to be wanting in the Newfound land, if we had intent there to inhabite.

In the South parts we found no inhabitants, which by all likelihood have abandoned those coastes, the same being so much frequented by Christians: But in the North are savages altogether harmelesse. Touching the commodities of this countrie, serving either for sustentation of inhabitants, or for maintenance of traffique, there are & may be made divers: so y^t^ it seemeth Nature hath recompenced that only defect and incommoditie of some sharpe cold, by many benefits: viz. With incredible quantitie, and no lesse varietie of kindes of fish in the sea and fresh waters, as Trouts, Salmons and other fish to us unknowen: Also Cod, which alone draweth many nations thither, and is become the most famous fishing of the world. Abundance of Whales, for which also is a very great trade in the bayes of Placentia & the Grand bay, where is made Traine oiles of the Whale: Herring the largest that have bene heard of, and exceeding the Malstrond herring of Norway: but hitherto was never benefit taken of the herring fishing. There are sundry other fish very delicate, namely the Bonito, Lobsters, Turbut, with others infinite not sought after: Oysters having pearle but not orient in colour: I tooke it by reason they were not gathered in season.

Fish of sea and fresh water.

Concerning the inland commodities, aswel to be drawen from this land, as from the exceeding large countries adjoyning: there is nothing which our East and Northerly countries of Europe doe yeelde, but the like also may be made in them as plentifully by time and industrie: Namely, rosen, pitch, tarre, sopeashes, dealboord, mastes for ships, hides, furres, flaxe, hempe, corne, cables, cordage, linnen-cloth, mettals and many more. All which the countries will aford, and the soyle is apt to yeelde.

The trees for the most in those South parts, are Firretrees, Pine and Cypresse, all yeelding Gumme and Turpentine.

Cherrie trees bearing fruit no bigger than a small pease. Also peare trees, but fruitlesse. Other trees of some sorts to us unknowen.

The soyle along the coast is not deepe of earth, bringing foorth abundantly peason small, yet good feeding for cattel. Roses passing sweet, like unto our muske roses in forme, raspases, a berry which we call Hurts, good and holesome to eat. The grasse and herbe doth fat sheepe in very short space, proved by English marchants which have caried sheepe thither for fresh victuall and had them raised exceeding fat in lesse then three weekes. Peason which our countreymen have sowen in the time of May, have come up faire, and bene gathered in the beginning of August, of which our Generall had a present acceptable for the rarenesse, being the first fruits comming up by art and industrie in that desolate and dishabited land.

Lakes or pooles of fresh water, both on the tops of mountaines and in the vallies. In which are said to be muskles not unlike to have pearle, which I had put in triall, if by mischance falling unto me, I had not bene letted from that and other good experiments I was minded to make.

Foule both of water and land in great plentie and diversitie. All kind of greene foule: Others as bigge as Bustards, yet not the same. A great white foule called of some a Gaunt.

Upon the land divers sorts of haukes, as faulcons, and others by report: Partridges most plentifull larger then ours, gray and white of colour, and rough footed like doves, which our men after one flight did kill with cudgels, they were so fat and unable to flie. Birds some like blackbirds, linnets, canary birds, and other very small. Beasts of sundry kindes, red deare, buffles or a beast, as it seemeth by the tract & foote very large in maner of an oxe. Beares, ounces or leopards, some greater & some lesser, wolves, foxes, which to the Northward a litle further are black, whose furre is esteemed in some Countries of Europe very rich. Otters, bevers, marternes:

And in the opinion of most men that saw it, the Generall had brought unto him a Sable alive, which he sent unto his brother sir John Gilbert knight of Devonshire: but it was never delivered, as after I understood. We could not observe the hundreth part of creatures in those unhabited lands: but these mentioned may induce us to glorifie the magnificent God, who hath superabundantly replenished the earth with creatures serving for the use of man, though man hath not used a fift part of the same, which the more doth aggravate the fault and foolish slouth in many of our nation, chusing rather to live indirectly, and very miserably to live & die within this realme pestered with inhabitants, then to adventure as becommeth men, to obtaine an habitation in those remote lands, in which Nature very prodigally doth minister unto mens endevours, and for art to worke upon.

Newfound land doth minister commodities abundantly for art & industrie. [III. 154.]

For besides these alreadie recounted and infinite moe, the mountaines generally make shew of minerall substance: Iron very common, lead, and somewhere copper. I will not averre of richer mettals: albeit by the circumstances following, more then hope may be conceived thereof.

For amongst other charges given to inquire out the singularities of this countrey, the Generall was most curious in the search of mettals, commanding the minerall man and refiner, especially to be diligent. The same was a Saxon borne, honest and religious, named Daniel. Who after search brought at first some sort of Ore, seeming rather to be yron then other mettall. The next time he found Ore, which with no small shew of contentment he delivered unto the General, using protestation, that if silver were the thing which might satisfie the Generall & his followers, there it was, advising him to seeke no further: the perill whereof he undertooke upon his life (as deare unto him as the Crowne of England unto her Majestie, that I may use his owne words) if it fell not out accordingly.

Silver Ore brought unto the Generall.

My selfe at this instant liker to die then to live, by a mischance, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my owne satisfaction: but afterward demanding our Generals opinion therein, and to have some part of the Ore, he replied: Content your selfe, I have seene ynough, and were it but to satisfie my private humor, I would proceede no further. The promise unto my friends, and necessitie to bring also the South countries within compasse of my Patent neere expired, as we have alreadie done these North parts, do only perswade me further. And touching the Ore, I have sent it aboord, whereof I would have no speech to be made so long as we remaine within harbor: here being both Portugals, Biscains and Frenchmen not farre off, from whom must be kept any bruit or muttering of such matter. When we are at sea proofe shalbe made: if it be to our desire, we may returne the sooner hither againe. Whose answere I judged reasonable, and contenting me well: wherewith I will conclude this narration and description of the Newfound land, and proceede to the rest of our voyage, which ended tragically.

Reasons why no further search was made for the silver mine.

WHile the better sort of us were seriously occupied in repairing our wants, and contriving of matters for the commoditie of our voyage: others of another sort & disposition were plotting of mischiefe. Some casting to steale away our shipping by night, watching oportunitie by the Generals and Captaines lying on the shore: whose conspiracies discovered, they were prevented. Others drew togither in company, and caried away out of the harbors adjoyning, a ship laden with fish, setting the poore men on shore. A great many more of our people stole into the woods to hide themselves, attending time and meanes to returne home by such shipping as daily departed from the coast. Some were sicke of fluxes, and many dead: and in briefe, by one meanes or other our company was diminished, and many by the Generall licensed to returne home. Insomuch as after

Misdemeanor in our companie.

we had reviewed our people, resolved to see an end of our voyage, we grewe scant of men to furnish all our shipping: it seemed good therefore unto the Generall to leave the Swallowe with such provision as might be spared for transporting home the sicke people.

God brought togither these men into the ship ordained to perish, who before had committed such outrage.

The Captaine of the Delight or Admirall returned into England, in whose stead was appointed Captaine Maurice Browne, before Captaine of the Swallow: who also brought with him into the Delight all his men of the Swallow, which before have bene noted of outrage perpetrated and committed upon fishermen there met at sea.

Why sir Humf. Gilbert went in the Frigate.

The Generall made choise to goe in his frigate the Squirrell (whereof the Captaine also was amongst them that returned into England) the same Frigate being most convenient to discover upon the coast, and to search into every harbor or creeke, which a great ship could not doe. Therefore the Frigate was prepared with her nettings & fights, and overcharged with bases and such small Ordinance, more to give a shew, then with judgement to foresee unto the safetie of her and the men, which afterward was an occasion also of their overthrow.

Liberalitie of the Portugals.

Now having made readie our shipping, that is to say, the Delight, the golden Hinde, and the Squirrell, and put aboord our provision, which was wines, bread or ruske, fish wette and drie, sweete oiles: besides many other, as marmalades, figs, lymmons barrelled, and such like: Also we had other necessary provisions for trimming our ships, nets and lines to fish withall, boates or pinnesses fit for discovery. In briefe, we were supplied of our wants commodiously, as if we had bene in a Countrey or some Citie populous and plentifull of all things.

August 20 S. Johns in 47 deg. 40 min.

We departed from this harbour of S. Johns upon Tuesday the twentieth of August, which we found by exact observation to be in 47 degrees 40 minutes. And the next day by night we were at Cape Race, 25 leagues from the same harborough.

Cape Race in 46 degrees 25 minutes.

This Cape lyeth South Southwest from S. Johns: it is a low land, being off from the Cape about halfe a league:

within the sea riseth up a rocke against the point of the Cape, which thereby is easily knowen: It is in latitude 46 degrees 25 minutes.

Under this Cape we were becalmed a small time, during which we layd out hookes and lines to take Codde, and drew in lesse then two houres, fish so large and in such abundance, that many dayes after we fed upon no other provision. [III. 155.] *Fish large and plentifull.*

From hence we shaped our course unto the Island of Sablon, if conveniently it would so fall out, also directly to Cape Briton.

Sablon lieth to the sea-ward of Cape Briton about 25 leagues, whither we were determined to goe upon intelligence we had of a Portugal, (during our abode in S. Johns) who was himselfe present, when the Portugals (above thirty yeeres past) did put into the same Island both Neat and Swine to breede, which were since exceedingly multiplied. This seemed unto us very happy tidings, to have in an Island lying so neere unto the maine, which we intended to plant upon, such store of cattell, whereby we might at all times conveniently be relieved of victuall, and served of store for breed. *Cattel in the Isle of Sablon.*

In this course we trended along the coast, which from Cape Race stretcheth into the Northwest, making a bay which some called Trepassa. Then it goeth out againe toward the West, and maketh a point, which with Cape Race lieth in maner East and West. But this point inclineth to the North: to the West of which goeth in the bay of Placentia. We sent men on land to take view of the soyle along this coast, whereof they made good report, and some of them had wil to be planted there. They saw Pease growing in great abundance every where. *Good soile.*

The distance betweene Cape Race and Cape Briton is 87 leagues. In which Navigation we spent 8 dayes, having many times the wind indifferent good: yet could we never attaine sight of any land all that time, seeing we were hindred by the current. At last we fell into such flats and dangers, that hardly any of us escaped: where

neverthelesse we lost our Admiral with al the men and provision, not knowing certainly the place. Yet for inducing men of skill to make conjecture, by our course and way we held from Cape Race thither (that thereby the flats and dangers may be inserted in sea Cards, for warning to others that may follow the same course hereafter) I have set downe the best reckonings that were kept by expert men, William Cox Master of the Hind, and John Paul his mate, both of Limehouse.

Reckonings kept in our course from Cape Race towards Cape Briton, and the Island of Sablon, to the time and place where we lost our Admirall.

August 22.	West,	14.	leagues.
	West and by South.	25.	
	Westnorthwest,	25.	
	Westnorthwest,	9.	
	Southsouthwest,	10.	
	Southwest,	12.	
	Southsouthwest,	10.	
August 29.	Westnorthwest.	12.	Here we lost our Admiral.

Summe of these leagues, 117.

The reckoning of John Paul Masters mate from Cape Race.

August 22.	West,	14	leagues.
23	Northwest and by West,	9.	
24	Southwest and by South,	5.	
25	West and by South,	40.	
26	West and by North,	7.	
27	Southwest,	3.	
28	Southwest,	9.	
	Southwest,	7.	
	Westsouthwest,	7.	
29	Northwest and by West,	20.	Here we lost our Admirall.

Summe of all these leagues, 121.

Our course we held in clearing us of these flats was Eastsoutheast, and Southeast, and South 14 leagues with a marveilous scant winde. [III. 156.]

The maner how our Admirall was lost.

UPon Tewsday the 27 of August, toward the evening, our Generall caused them in his frigat to sound, who found white sande at 35 fadome, being then in latitude about 44 degrees. *August 27.*

Wednesday toward night the wind came South, and wee bare with the land all that night, Westnorthwest, contrary to the mind of master Cox: neverthelesse wee followed the Admirall, deprived of power to prevent a mischiefe, which by no contradiction could be brought to hold other course, alleaging they could not make the ship to worke better, nor to lie otherwaies.

Predictions before the wracke.

The evening was faire and pleasant, yet not without token of storme to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night, like the Swanne that singeth before her death, they in the Admiral, or Delight, continued in sounding of Trumpets, with Drummes, and Fifes: also winding the Cornets, Haughtboyes: and in the end of their jolitie, left with the battell and ringing of dolefull knels.

Towards the evening also we caught in the Golden Hinde a very mighty Porpose, with a harping yron, having first striken divers of them, and brought away part of their flesh, sticking upon the yron, but could recover onely that one. These also passing through the Ocean, in heardes, did portend storme. I omit to recite frivolous reportes by them in the Frigat, of strange voyces, the same night, which scarred some from the helme.

Thursday the 29 of August, the wind rose, and blew vehemently at South and by East, bringing withal raine, and thicke mist, so that we could not see a cable length before us. And betimes in the morning we were altogether runne and folded in amongst flats and sands, amongst which we found shoale and deepe in every three

Losse of our Admirall.

or foure shippes length, after wee began to sound: but first we were upon them unawares, untill master Cox looking out, discerned (in his judgement) white cliffes, crying (land) withall, though we could not afterward descrie any land, it being very likely the breaking of the sea white, which seemed to be white cliffes, through the haze and thicke weather.

Immediatly tokens were given unto the Delight, to cast about to seaward, which, being the greater ship, and of burden 120 tunnes, was yet formost upon the breach, keeping so ill watch, that they knew not the danger, before they felt the same, too late to recover it: for presently the Admirall strooke a ground, and had soone after her sterne and hinder partes beaten in pieces: whereupon the rest (that is to say, the Frigat in which was the Generall and the Golden Hinde) cast about Eastsoutheast, bearing to the South, even for our lives into the windes eye, because that way caried us to the seaward. Making out from this danger, wee sounded one while seven fadome, then five fadome, then foure fadome and lesse, againe deeper, immediatly foure fadome, then but three fadome, the sea going mightily and high. At last we recovered (God be thanked) in some despaire, to sea roome enough.

In this distresse, wee had vigilant eye unto the Admirall, whom wee sawe cast away, without power to give the men succour, neither could we espie any of the men that leaped overboord to save themselves, either in the same Pinnesse or Cocke, or upon rafters, and such like meanes, presenting themselves to men in those extremities: for we desired to save the men by every possible meanes. But all in vaine, sith God had determined their ruine: yet all that day, and part of the next, we beat up and downe as neere unto the wracke as was possible for us, looking out, if by good hap we might espie any of them.

This was a heavy and grievous event, to lose at one blow our chiefe shippe fraighted with great provision,

gathered together with much travell, care, long time, and difficultie. But more was the losse of our men, which perished to the number almost of a hundreth soules. Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the citie of Buda, called thereof Budæus, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, adventured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the gests and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this discoverie, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time.

Stephanus Parmenius a learned Hungarian.

Here also perished our Saxon Refiner and Discoverer of inestimable riches, as it was left amongst some of us in undoubted hope.

Daniel a refiner of mettals.

No lesse heavy was the losse of the Captaine Maurice Browne, a vertuous, honest, and discreete Gentleman, overseene onely in liberty given late before to men, that ought to have bene restrained, who shewed himselfe a man resolved, and never unprepared for death, as by his last act of this tragedie appeared, by report of them that escaped this wracke miraculously, as shall bee hereafter declared. For when all hope was past of recovering the ship, and that men began to give over, and to save themselves, the Captaine was advised before to shift also for his life, by the Pinnesse at the sterne of the ship: but refusing that counsell, he would not give example with the first to leave the shippe, but used all meanes to exhort his people not to despaire, nor so to leave off their labour, choosing rather to die, then to incurre infamie, by forsaking his charge, which then might be thought to have perished through his default, shewing an ill president unto his men, by leaving the ship first himselfe. With this mind hee mounted upon the highest decke, where hee attended imminent death, and unavoidable: how long, I leave it to God, who withdraweth not his comfort from his servants at such times. [III. 157.]

In the meane season, certaine, to the number of foureteene persons, leaped into a small Pinnesse (the

A wonderfull scape and deliverance. A great distresse. A desperate resolution.

bignes of a Thames barge, which was made in the New found land) cut off the rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themselves to Gods mercy, amiddest the storme, and rage of sea and windes, destitute of foode, not so much as a droppe of fresh water. The boate seeming overcharged in foule weather with company, Edward Headly a valiant souldier, and well reputed of his companie, preferring the greater to the lesser, thought better that some of them perished then all, made this motion to cast lots, and them to bee throwen overboord upon whom the lots fell, thereby to lighten the boate, which otherwayes seemed impossible to live, offred himselfe with the first, content to take his adventure gladly: which nevertheles Richard Clarke, that was Master of the Admirall, and one of this number, refused, advising to abide Gods pleasure, who was able to save all, as well as a few.

Two men famished.

The boate was caried before the wind, continuing sixe dayes and nights in the Ocean, and arrived at last with the men (alive, but weake) upon the New found land, saving that the foresayd Headly, (who had bene late sicke) and another called of us Brasile, of his travell into those Countreys, died by the way, famished, and lesse able to holde out, then those of better health. For such was these poore mens extremitie, in cold and wet, to have no better sustenance then their owne urine, for sixe dayes together.

Thus whom God delivered from drowning, hee appointed to bee famished, who doth give limits to mans times, and ordaineth the manner and circumstance of dying: whom againe he will preserve, neither Sea, nor famine can confound. For those that arrived upon the Newe found land, were brought into France by certaine French men, then being upon that coast.

After this heavie chance, wee continued in beating the sea up and downe, expecting when the weather would cleere up, that we might yet beare in with the land, which we judged not farre off, either the continent or some

Island. For we many times, and in sundry places found ground at 50, 45, 40 fadomes, and lesse. The ground comming upon our lead, being sometimes oazie sand, and otherwhile a broad shell, with a little sand about it.

Causes inforcing us to returne home againe.

Our people lost courage dayly after this ill successe, the weather continuing thicke and blustering, with increase of cold, Winter drawing on, which tooke from them all hope of amendement, setling an assurance of worse weather to growe upon us every day. The Leeside of us lay full of flats and dangers inevitable, if the wind blew hard at South. Some againe doubted we were ingulfed in the Bay of S. Laurence, the coast full of dangers, and unto us unknowen. But above all, provision waxed scant, and hope of supply was gone, with losse of our Admirall.

Those in the Frigat were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly: Whereupon they besought the Generall to returne for England, before they all perished. And to them of the Golden Hinde, they made signes of their distresse, pointing to their mouthes, and to their clothes thinne and ragged: then immediately they also of the Golden Hinde, grew to be of the same opinion and desire to returne home.

The former reasons having also moved the Generall to have compassion of his poore men, in whom he saw no want of good will, but of meanes fit to performe the action they came for, resolved upon retire: and calling the Captaine and Master of the Hinde, he yeelded them many reasons, inforcing this unexpected returne, withall protesting himselfe, greatly satisfied with that hee had seene, and knew already.

Reiterating these words, Be content, we have seene enough, and take no care of expence past: I will set you foorth royally the next Spring, if God send us safe home. Therefore I pray you let us no longer strive here, where we fight against the elements.

Omitting circumstance, how unwillingly the Captaine & Master of the Hinde condescended to this motion, his [III. 158.]

owne company can testifie: yet comforted with the Generals promises of a speedie returne at Spring, and induced by other apparant reasons, proving an impossibilitie, to accomplish the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

August 31. So upon Saturday in the afternoone the 31 of August, we changed our course, and returned backe for England, at which very instant, even in winding about, there passed along betweene us and towards the land which we now forsooke a very lion to our seeming, in shape, hair and colour, not swimming after the maner of a beast by mooving of his feete, but rather sliding upon the water with his whole body (excepting the legs) in sight, neither yet diving under, and againe rising above the water, as the maner is, of Whales, Dolphins, Tunise, Porposes, and all other fish: but confidently shewing himselfe above water without hiding: Notwithstanding, we presented our selves in open view and gesture to amase him, as all creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonstration of long teeth, and glaring eies, and to bidde us a farewell (comming right against the Hinde) he sent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a lion, which spectacle wee all beheld so farre as we were able to discerne the same, as men prone to wonder at every strange thing, as this doubtlesse was, to see a lion in the Ocean sea, or fish in shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselfe, I forbeare to deliver: But he tooke it for Bonum Omen, rejoycing that he was to warre against such an enemie, if it were the devill.

A monster of the sea.

The wind was large for England at our returne, but very high, and the sea rough, insomuch as the Frigat wherein the Generall went was almost swalowed up.

September 2. Munday in the afternoone we passed in the sight of Cape Race, having made as much way in little more then two dayes and nights backe againe, as before wee had

done in eight dayes from Cape Race, unto the place where our ship perished. Which hindrance thitherward, and speed back againe, is to be imputed unto the swift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our returne.

This munday the Generall came aboord the Hind to have the Surgeon of the Hind to dresse his foote, which he hurt by treading upon a naile: At what time we comforted ech other with hope of hard successe to be all past, and of the good to come. So agreeing to cary out lights alwayes by night, that we might keepe together, he departed into his Frigat, being by no meanes to be intreated to tarie in the Hind, which had bene more for his security. Immediatly after followed a sharpe storme, which we overpassed for that time. Praysed be God.

Our last conference with our Generall.

The weather faire, the Generall came aboord the Hind againe, to make merrie together with the Captaine, Master, and company, which was the last meeting, and continued there from morning untill night. During which time there passed sundry discourses, touching affaires past, and to come, lamenting greatly the losse of his great ship, more of the men, but most of all of his bookes and notes, and what els I know not, for which hee was out of measure grieved, the same doubtles being some matter of more importance then his bookes, which I could not draw from him: yet by circumstance I gathered, the same to be ye Ore which Daniel the Saxon had brought unto him in the New found land. Whatsoever it was, the remembrance touched him so deepe, as not able to containe himselfe, he beat his boy in great rage, even at the same time, so long after the miscarying of the great ship, because upon a faire day, when wee were becalmed upon the coast of the New found land, neere unto Cape Race, he sent his boy aboord the Admirall, to fetch certaine things: amongst which, this being chiefe, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time he could never conveniently send againe

Circumstances to be well observed in our Generall, importing the Ore to be of a silver Mine.

aboord the great ship, much lesse hee doubted her ruine so neere at hand.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diversly, and by sundry conjectures, which maketh me have the greater hope of this rich Mine. For where as the Generall had never before good conceit of these North parts of the world: now his mind was wholly fixed upon the New found land. And as before he refused not to grant assignements liberally to them that required the same into these North parts, now he became contrarily affected, refusing to make any so large grants, especially of S. Johns, which certaine English merchants made suite for, offering to imploy their money and travell upon the same: yet neither by their owne suite, nor of others of his owne company, whom he seemed willing to pleasure, it could be obtained.

Also laying downe his determination in the Spring following, for disposing of his voyage then to be re-attempted: he assigned the Captaine & Master of the Golden Hind, unto the South discovery, and reserved unto himselfe the North, affirming that this voyage had wonne his heart from the South, and that he was now become a Northerne man altogether.

[III. 159.] Last, being demanded what means he had at his arrivall in England, to compasse the charges of so great preparation as he intended to make the next Spring: having determined upon two fleetes, one for the South, another for the North: Leave that to mee (hee replied) I will aske a pennie of no man. I will bring good tidings unto her Majesty, who wil be so gracious, to lend me 10000 pounds, willing us therefore to be of good cheere: for he did thanke God (he sayd) with al his heart, for that he had seene, the same being enough for us all, and that we needed not to seeke any further. And these last words he would often repeate, with demonstration of great fervencie of mind, being himselfe very confident, and setled in beliefe of inestimable good by this voyage: which the greater number of his followers

nevertheles mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those secrets, which the Generall kept unto himselfe. Yet all of them that are living, may be witnesses of his words and protestations, which sparingly I have delivered.

Leaving the issue of this good hope unto God, who knoweth the trueth only, & can at his good pleasure bring the same to light: I will hasten to the end of this tragedie, which must be knit up in the person of our Generall. And as it was Gods ordinance upon him, even so the vehement perswasion and intreatie of his friends could nothing availe, to divert him from a wilfull resolution of going through in his Frigat, which was overcharged upon their deckes, with fights, nettings, and small artillerie, too cumbersome for so small a boate, that was to passe through the Ocean sea at that season of the yere, when by course we might expect much storme of foule weather, whereof indeed we had enough.

Wilfulnes in the Generall.

But when he was intreated by the Captaine, Master, and other his well willers of the Hinde, not to venture in the Frigat, this was his answere: I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many stormes and perils. And in very trueth, hee was urged to be so over hard, by hard reports given of him, that he was afraid of the sea, albeit this was rather rashnes, then advised resolution, to preferre the wind of a vaine report to the weight of his owne life.

A token of a good mind.

Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had provision out of the Hinde, such as was wanting aboord his Frigat. And so we committed him to Gods protection, & set him aboord his Pinnesse, we being more then 300 leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Islands of Açores South of us, yet wee then keeping much to the North, until we had got into the height and elevation of England: we met with very foule weather, and terrible seas, breaking short and high Pyramid wise. The reason whereof seemed to proceede either of hilly grounds high

and low within the sea, (as we see hilles and dales upon the land) upon which the seas doe mount and fall: or else the cause proceedeth of diversitie of winds, shifting often in sundry points: al which having power to move the great Ocean, which againe is not presently setled, so many seas do encounter together, as there had bene diversitie of windes. Howsoever it commeth to passe, men which all their life time had occupied the Sea, never saw more outragious Seas. We had also upon our maine yard, an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen doe call Castor and Pollux. But we had onely one, which they take an evill signe of more tempest: the same is usuall in stormes.

Munday the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigat was neere cast away, oppressed by waves, yet at that time recovered: and giving foorth signes of joy, the Generall sitting abaft with a booke in his hand, cried out unto us in the Hind (so oft as we did approch within hearing) We are as neere to heaven by sea as by land. Reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a souldier, resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testifie he was.

A resolute and Christianlike saying in a distresse

The same Monday night, about twelve of the clocke, or not long after, the Frigat being ahead of us in the Golden Hinde, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment, we lost the sight, and withall our watch cryed, the Generall was cast away, which was too true. For in that moment, the Frigat was devoured and swallowed up of the Sea. Yet still we looked out all that night, and ever after, untill wee arrived upon the coast of England: Omitting no small saile at sea, unto which we gave not the tokens betweene us, agreed upon, to have perfect knowledge of each other, if we should at any time be separated.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert drowned.

In great torment of weather, and perill of drowning, it pleased God to send safe home the Golden Hinde, which arrived in Falmouth, the 22 day of September, being Sonday, not without as great danger escaped in a flaw, comming from the Southeast, with such thicke mist, that

Arrivall in England of the Golden Hinde.

we could not discerne land, to put in right with the Haven.

From Falmouth we went to Dartmouth, & lay there at anker before the Range, while the captaine went aland, to enquire if there had bene any newes of the Frigat, which sayling well, might happily have bene before us. Also to certifie Sir John Gilbert, brother unto the Generall of our hard successe, whom the Captaine desired (while his men were yet aboord him, and were witnesses of all occurrents in that voyage,) It might please him to take the examination of every person particularly, in discharge of his and their faithfull endevour. Sir John Gilbert refused so to doe, holding himselfe satisfied with report made by the Captaine: and not altogether dispairing of his brothers safetie, offered friendship and curtesie to the Captaine and his company, requiring to have his Barke brought into the harbour: in furtherance whereof, a boate was sent to helpe to tow her in. [III. 160.] *A fit motion of the Captain unto sir Humfrey Gilbert.*

Neverthelesse, when the Captaine returned aboord his ship, he found his men bent to depart, every man to his home: and then the winde serving to proceede higher upon the coast: they demanded money to carie them home, some to London, others to Harwich, and elsewhere, (if the barke should be caried into Dartmouth, and they discharged, so farre from home) or else to take benefite of the wind, then serving to draw neerer home, which should be a lesse charge unto the Captaine, and great ease unto the men, having els farre to goe.

Reason accompanied with necessitie perswaded the Captaine, who sent his lawfull excuse and cause of his sudden departure unto sir John Gilbert, by the boate of Dartmouth, and from thence the Golden Hind departed, and tooke harbour at Waimouth. Al the men tired with the tediousnes of so unprofitable a voiage to their seeming: in which their long expence of time, much toyle and labour, hard diet and continuall hazard of life was unrecompensed: their Captaine neverthelesse by his great charges, impaired greatly thereby, yet comforted in the *An ill recompense.*

goodnes of God, and his undoubted providence following him in all that voyage, as it doth alwaies those at other times, whosoever have confidence in him alone. Yet have we more neere feeling and perseverance of his powerfull hand and protection, when God doth bring us together with others into one same peril, in which he leaveth them, and delivereth us, making us thereby the beholders, but not partakers of their ruine.

Even so, amongst very many difficulties, discontentments, mutinies, conspiracies, sicknesses, mortalitie, spoylings, and wracks by sea, which were afflictions, more then in so small a Fleete, or so short a time may be supposed, albeit true in every particularitie, as partly by the former relation may be collected, and some I suppressed with silence for their sakes living, it pleased God to support this company, (of which onely one man died of a maladie inveterate, and long infested): the rest kept together in reasonable contentment and concord, beginning, continuing, and ending the voyage, which none els did accomplish, either not pleased with the action, or impatient of wants, or prevented by death.

Thus have I delivered the contents of the enterprise and last action of sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, faithfully, for so much as I thought meete to be published: wherein may alwaies appeare, (though he be extinguished) some sparkes of his vertues, he remaining firme and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and godly, as was this, to discover, possesse, and to reduce unto the service of God, and Christian pietie, those remote and heathen Countreys of America, not actually possessed by Christians, and most rightly appertaining unto the Crowne of England: unto the which, as his zeale deserveth high commendation: even so, he may justly be taxed of temeritie and presumption (rather) in two respects.

Constancie in sir Humfrey Gilbert.

His temeritie and presumption.

First, when yet there was onely probabilitie, not a certaine & determinate place of habitation selected, neither any demonstration of commoditie there in esse, to induce his followers: nevertheles, he both was too prodigall of

his owne patrimony, and too careles of other mens expences, to imploy both his and their substance upon a ground imagined good. The which falling, very like his associates were promised, and made it their best reckoning to bee salved some other way, which pleased not God to prosper in his first and great preparation.

Secondly, when by his former preparation he was enfeebled of abilitie and credit, to performe his designements, as it were impatient to abide in expectation better opportunitie and meanes, which God might raise, he thrust himselfe againe into the action, for which he was not fit, presuming the cause pretended on Gods behalfe, would carie him to the desired ende. Into which, having thus made reentrie, he could not yeeld againe to withdraw, though hee sawe no encouragement to proceed, lest his credite foyled in his first attempt, in a second should utterly be disgraced. Betweene extremities, hee made a right adventure, putting all to God and good fortune, and which was worst, refused not to entertaine every person and meanes whatsoever, to furnish out this expedition, the successe whereof hath bene declared.

Afflictions needfull in the children of God.

But such is the infinite bountie of God, who from every evill deriveth good. For besides that fruite may growe in time of our travelling into those Northwest lands, the crosses, turmoiles, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humors, which before we noted to bee in this Gentleman, and made unsavorie, and lesse delightfull his other manifold vertues. [III. 161.]

Then as he was refined, and made neerer drawing unto the image of God: so it pleased the divine will to resume him unto himselfe, whither both his, and every other high and noble minde, have alwayes aspired.

[Ornatissimo viro,

Ornatissimo viro, Magistro Richardo Hakluyto Oxonii in Collegio ædis Christi, Artium & Philosophiæ Magistro, amico, & fratri suo.

Non statueram ad te scribere, cùm in mentem veniret promissum literarum tuarum. Putabas te superiore jam Junio nos subsecuturum. Itaque de meo statu ex doctore Humfredo certiorem te fieri jusseram. Verùm sic tibi non esset satisfactum. Itaque scribam ad te iisdem ferè verbis, quia nova meditari & συνονυμίζειν mihi hoc tempore non vacat. Undecimo Junii ex Anglia revera tandem & seriò solvimus, portu & terra apud Plemuthum simul relictis. Classis quinque navibus constabat: maxima, quam* frater Amiralii accommodaverat, ignotum quo consilio, statim tertio die à nobis se subduxit. Reliqui perpetuò conjunctim navigavimus ad 23. Julii, quo tempore magnis nebulis intercepto aspectu alii aliam viam tenuimus: nobis seorsim prima terra apparuit ad Calendas Augusti, ad gradum circiter 50. cùm ultrà 41. paucis ante diebus descendissemus spe Australium ventorum, qui tamen nobis suo tempore nunquam spiravêre. Insula est ea, quam vestri Penguin vocant, ab avium ejusdem nominis multitudine. Nos tamen nec aves vidimus, nec insulam accessimus, ventis aliò vocantibus. Cæterùm convenimus omnes in eundem locum paulò ante portum in quem communi consilio omnibus veniendum erat, idqúe intra duas horas, magna Dei benignitate & nostro gaudio. Locus situs est in Newfoundlandia, inter 47. & 48. gradum, Divum Joannem vocant. Ipse Admiralius propter multitudinem hominum & angustiam navis paulò afflictiorem comitatum habuit, & jam duos dysentericis doloribus amisit: de cæteris bona spes est. Ex nostris (nam ego me Mauricio Browno verè generoso juveni me conjunxeram) duo etiam casu quodam submersi sunt. Cæteri salvi & longè

Dominus Ralegh.

Insula Penguin.

firmiores. Ego nunquam sanior. In hunc locum tertio Augusti appulimus: quinto autem ipse Admiralius has regiones in suam & regni Angliæ possessionem potestatemque vendicavit, latis quibusdam legibus de religione & obsequio Reginæ Angliæ. Reficimur hoc tempore paulò hilariùs & lautiùs. Certè enim & qualibus ventis usi simus, & quàm fessi esse potuerimus tam longi temporis ratio docuerit, proinde nihil nobis deerit. Nam extra Anglos, 20 circiter naves Lusitanicas & Hispanicas nacti in hoc loco sumus: eæ nobis impares non patientur nos esurire. Angli etsi satis firmi, & à nobis tuti, authoritate regii diplomatis omni obsequio & humanitate prosequuntur. Nunc narrandi erant mores, regiones, & populi. Cæterùm quid narrem mi Hakluyte, quando præter solitudinem nihil video? Piscium inexhausta copia: inde huc commeantibus magnus quæstus. Vix hamus fundum attigit, illicò insigni aliquo onustus est. Terra universa* montana & sylvestris: arbores ut plurimùm pinus: eæ partim consenuêre, partim nunc adolescunt: magna pars vetustate collapsa, & aspectum terræ, & iter euntium ita impedit, ut nusquam progredi liceat. Herbæ omnes proceræ: sed rarò à nostris diversæ. Natura videtur velle niti etiam ad generandum frumentum. Inveni enim gramina, & spicas in similitudinem secales: & facilè cultura & satione in usum humanum assuefieri posse videntur. Rubi in sylvis vel potiùs fraga arborescentia magna suavitate. Ursi circa tuguria nonnunquam apparent, & conficiuntur: sed albi sunt, ut mihi ex pellibus conjicere licuit, & minores quàm nostri. Populus an ullus sit in hac regione incertum est: Nec ullum vidi qui testari posset. Et quis quæso posset, cùm ad longum progredi non liceat? Nec minùs ignotum est an aliquid metalli sub sit montibus. Causa eadem est, etsi aspectus eorum mineras latentes præ se ferat. Nos Admiralio authores fuimus sylvas incendere, quo ad inspiciendam regionem spacium pateret: nec displicebat illi consilium, si non magnum incommodum allaturum videretur. Confirmatum est

In the south side of Newe found land, there is store of plaine and champion Countrey, as Richard Clarke found.

enim ab idoneis hominibus, cum casu quopiam in alia nescio qua statione id accidisset, septennium totum pisces non comparuisse, ex acerbata maris unda ex terebynthina, quæ conflagrantibus arboribus per rivulos defluebat. Cœlum hoc anni tempore ita fervidum est, ut nisi pisces, qui arefiunt ad solem, assidui invertantur, ab adustione defendi non possint. Hyeme quàm frigidum sit, magnæ moles glaciei in medio mari nos docuere. Relatum est à comitibus mense Maio sexdecim totos dies interdum se inter tantam glaciem hæsisse, ut 60. orgyas altæ essent insulæ: quarum latera soli apposita cum liquescerent, liberatione quadam universam molem ita inversam, ut quòd ante pronum erat, supinum evaderet, magno præsentium discrimine, ut consentaneum est. Aer in terra mediocriter clarus est: ad orientem supra mare perpetuæ nebulæ: Et in ipso mari circa Bancum (sic vocant locum ubi quadraginta leucis à terra fundus attingitur, & pisces capi incipiunt) nullus ferme dies absque pluvia. Expeditis nostris necessitatibus in hoc loco, in Austrum (Deo juvante) progrediemur, tantò indies majori spe, quò plura de iis quas petimus regionibus commemorantur. Hæc de nostris. Cupio de vobis scire: sed metuo ne incassum. Imprimis autem quomodo Untonus meus absentiam meam ferat, præter modum intelligere velim: Habebit nostrum obsequium & officium paratum, quandiu vixerimus. Revera autem spero, hanc nostram peregrinationem ipsius instituto usui futuram. Nunc restat, ut me tuum putes, & quidem ita tuum, ut neminem magis. Juvet dei filius labores nostros eatenus, ut tu quoque participare possis. Vale amicissime, suavissime, ornatissime Hakluyte, & nos ama. In Newfundlandia apud portum Sancti Johannis 6. Augusti 1583.

The great heate of the sunne in summer.

[III. 162.]

STEPHANUS PARMENIUS.

Budeius, tuus.

The same in English.

To the worshipfull, Master Richard Hakluit at Oxford in Christchurch Master of Arts, and Philosophie, his friend and brother.

I Had not purposed to write unto you, when the promise of your letters came to my mind: You thought in June last to have followed us your selfe, and therefore I had left order that you should be advertised of my state, by Master Doctor Humfrey: but so you would not be satisfied: I will write therefore to you almost in the same words, because I have no leasure at this time, to meditate new matters, and to vary or multiply words.

The 11. of June we set saile at length from England in good earnest, and departed, leaving the haven and land behind us at Plimmouth: our Fleete consisted of five shippes: the greatest, which the Admirals brother had lent us, withdrew her selfe from us the third day, wee know not upon what occasion: with the rest we sailed still together till the 23. of July: at which time our view of one another being intercepted by the great mists, some of us sailed one way, and some another: to us alone the first land appeared, the first of August, about the latitude of 50. degrees, when as before we had descended beyond 41. degrees in hope of some Southerly windes, which notwithstanding never blew to us at any fit time.

It is an Island which your men call Penguin, because of the multitude of birdes of the same name. Yet wee neither sawe any birds, nor drew neere to the land, the winds serving for our course directed to another place, but wee mette altogether at that place a little before the Haven, whereunto by common Councell we had determined to come, and that within the space of two houres by the great goodnesse of God, and to our great joy. The place is situate in Newfound land, betweene 47. and

48. degrees, called by the name of Saint Johns: the Admirall himselfe by reason of the multitude of the men, and the smalnesse of his ship, had his company somewhat sickly, and had already lost two of the same company, which died of the Flixe: of the rest we conceive good hope. Of our company (for I joyned my selfe with Maurice Browne, a very proper Gentleman) two persons by a mischance were drowned, the rest are in safetie, and strong, and for mine owne part I was never more healthy. Wee arrived at this place the third of August: and the fift the Admirall tooke possession of the Countrey, for himselfe and the kingdome of England: having made and published certaine Lawes, concerning religion, and obedience to the Queene of England: at this time our fare is somewhat better, and daintier, then it was before: for in good sooth, the experience of so long time hath taught us what contrary winds wee have found, and what great travell wee may endure hereafter: and therefore wee will take such order, that wee will want nothing: for we found in this place about twenty Portugall and Spanish shippes, besides the shippes of the English: which being not able to match us, suffer us not to bee hunger starved: the English although they were of themselves strong ynough, and safe from our force, yet seeing our authoritie, by the Queenes letters patents, they shewed us all maner of duety and humanitie.

The maner of this Countrey and people remaine now to be spoken of. But what shall I say, my good Hakluyt, when I see nothing but a very wildernesse? Of fish here is incredible abundance, whereby great gaine growes to them, that travell to these parts: the hooke is no sooner throwne out, but it is eftsoones drawne up with some goodly fish: the whole land is full of hilles
[III. 163.] and woods. The trees for the most part are Pynes and of them some are very olde, and some yong: a great part of them being fallen by reason of their age, doth so hinder the sight of the land, and stoppe the way of those that seeke to travell, that they can goe no whither: all the

grasse here is long, and tall, and little differeth from ours. It seemeth also that the nature of this soyle is fit for corne: for I found certaine blades and eares in a manner bearded, so that it appeareth that by manuring and sowing, they may easily be framed for the use of man: here are in the woodes bush berries, or rather straw berries growing up like trees, of great sweetnesse. Beares also appeare about the fishers stages of the Countrey, and are sometimes killed, but they seeme to bee white, as I conjectured by their skinnes, and somewhat lesse then ours. Whether there bee any people in the Countrey I knowe not, neither have I seene any to witnesse it. And to say trueth, who can, when as it is not possible to passe any whither? In like sort it is unknowne, whither any mettals lye under the hilles: the cause is all one, although the very colour and hue of the hilles seeme to have some Mynes in them: we mooved the Admirall to set the woods a fire, that so wee might have space, and entrance to take view of the Countrey, which motion did nothing displease him, were it not for feare of great inconvenience that might thereof insue: for it was reported and confirmed by very credible persons, that when the like happened by chance in another Port, the fish never came to the place about it, for the space of 7. whole yeeres after, by reason of the waters made bitter by the Turpentine, and Rosen of the trees, which ranne into the rivers upon the firing of them. The weather is so hote this time of the yeere, that except the very fish, which is layd out to be dryed by the sunne, be every day turned, it cannot possibly bee preserved from burning: but how cold it is in the winter, the great heapes, and mountaines of yce, in the middest of the Sea have taught us: some of our company report, that in May, they were sometimes kept in, with such huge yce, for 16. whole dayes together, as that the Islands thereof were threescore fathoms thicke, the sides wherof which were toward the Sunne, when they were melted, the whole masse or heape was so inverted and turned in maner of balancing, that that part which

was before downeward rose upward, to the great perill of those that are neere them, as by reason wee may gather. The ayre upon land is indifferent cleare, but at Sea towards the East there is nothing els but perpetuall mists, and in the Sea it selfe, about the Banke (for so they call the place where they find ground fourty leagues distant from the shore, and where they beginne to fish) there is no day without raine. When we have served, and supplied our necessitie in this place, we purpose by the helpe of God to passe towards the South, with so much the more hope every day, by how much the greater the things are, that are reported of those Countreys, which we go to discover. Thus much touching our estate.

Now I desire to know somewhat concerning you, but I feare in vaine, but specially I desire out of measure to know how my Patrone master Henry Umpton doth take my absence: my obedience, and duetie shall alwayes bee ready toward him as long as I live: but in deede I hope, that this journey of ours shalbe profitable to his intentions. It remaineth that you thinke me to be still yours, and so yours as no mans more. The sonne of God blesse all our labors, so farre, as that you your selfe may be partaker of our blessing. Adieu, my most friendly, most sweete, most vertuous Hakluyt: In Newfound land, at Saint Johns Port, the 6. of August. 1583.

STEVEN PARMENIUS of
Buda, yours.

A relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth, master of the ship called the Delight, going for the discovery of Norembega, with Sir Humfrey Gilbert 1583. Written in excuse of that fault of casting away the ship and men, imputed to his oversight.

DEparting out of Saint Johns Harborough in the Newfound land the 20. of August unto Cape Raz, from thence we directed our course unto the Ile of Sablon or the Isle of Sand, which the Generall Sir Humfrey Gilbert would willingly have seene. But when we came within twentie leagues of the Isle of Sablon, we fell to controversie of our course. The Generall came up in his Frigot and demanded of mee Richard Clarke master of the Admirall what course was best to keepe: I said that Westsouthwest was best: because the wind was at South and night at hand and unknowen sands lay off a great way from the land. The Generall commanded me to go Westnorthwest. I told him againe that the Isle of Sablon was Westnorthwest and but 15. leagues off, and that he should be upon the Island before day, if hee went that course. The Generall sayd, my reckoning was untrue, and charged me in her Majesties name, and as I would shewe my selfe in her Countrey, to follow him that night. I fearing his threatnings, because he presented her Majesties person, did follow his commaundement, and about seven of the clocke in the morning the ship stroke on ground, where shee was cast away. Then the Generall went off to Sea, the course that I would have had them gone before, and saw the ship cast away men and all, and was not able to save a man, for there was not water upon the sand for either of them much lesse for the Admirall, that drew fourteene foote. Now as God would the day

20. Leagues from the Isle of Sablon.

[III. 164.]

15. Leagues from the Isle of Sablon. Herein Clarke untruely chargeth sir Humfrey Gilbert.

The ship cast away on Thursday being the 29 of August 1583.

before it was very calme, and a Souldier of the ship had killed some foule with his piece, and some of the company desired me that they might hoyse out the boat to recover the foule, which I granted them: and when they came aboord they did not hoyse it in againe that night. And when the ship was cast away the boate was a sterne being in burthen one tunne and an halfe: there was left in the boate one oare and nothing els. Some of the company could swimme, and recovered the boate and did hale in out of the water as many men as they coulde: among the rest they had a care to watch for the Captaine or the Master: They happened on my selfe being the master, but could never see the Captaine: Then they halled into the boate as many men as they could in number 16. whose names hereafter I will rehearse. And when the 16. were in the boate, some had small remembrance, and some had none: for they did not make account to live, but to prolong their lives as long as it pleased God, and looked every moment of an houre when the Sea would eate them up, the boate being so little and so many men in her, and so foule weather, that it was not possible for a shippe to brooke halfe a coarse of sayle. Thus while wee remayned two dayes and two nights, and that wee saw it pleased God our boate lived in the Sea (although we had nothing to helpe us withall but one oare, which we kept up the boate withall upon the Sea, and so went even as the Sea would drive us) there was in our company one master Hedly that put foorth this question to me the Master. I doe see that it doth please God, that our boate lyveth in the Sea, and it may please God that some of us may come to the land if our boate were not overladen. Let us make sixteene lots, and those foure that have the foure shortest lots we will cast overboord preserving the Master among us all. I replied unto him, saying, no, we will live and die together. Master Hedly asked me if my remembrance were good: I answered I gave God prayse it was good, and knewe how farre I was off the

Sixteene gate into the ship-boate.

Master Hedlyes ungodly proposition.

land, and was in hope to come to the lande within two or three dayes, and sayde they were but threescore leagues from the lande, (when they were seventie) all to put them in comfort. Thus we continued the third and fourth day without any sustenance, save onely the weedes that swamme in the Sea, and salt water to drinke. The fifth day Hedly dyed and another moreover: then wee desired all to die: for in all these five dayes and five nights we saw the Sunne but once and the Starre but one night, it was so foule weather. Thus we did remaine the sixt day: then we were very weake and wished all to die saving onely my selfe which did comfort them and promised they should come soone to land by the helpe of God: but the company were very importunate, and were in doubt they should never come to land, but that I promised them the seventh day they should come to shore, or els they should cast me over boord: which did happen true the seventh day, for at eleven of the clocke wee had sight of the land, and at 3. of the clocke at afternoone we came on land. All these seven dayes and seven nights, the wind kept continually South. If the wind had in the meane time shifted upon any other point, wee had never come to land: we were no sooner come to the land, but the wind came cleane contrary at North within halfe an houre after our arrivall. But we were so weake that one could scarcely helpe another of us out of the boate, yet with much adoe being come all on shore we kneeled downe upon our knees and gave God praise that he had dealt so mercifully with us. Afterwards those which were strongest holpe their fellowes unto a fresh brooke, where we satisfied our selves with water and berries very well. There were of al sorts of berries plentie, & as goodly a Countrey as ever I saw: we found a very faire plaine Champion ground that a man might see very farre every way: by the Sea side was here and there a little wood with goodly trees as good as ever I saw any in Norway, able to mast any shippe, of pyne trees, spruse trees,

They came on land the 7 day after their shipwracke.

The fruitfulnesse of the south part of Newfound land.

firre, and very great birch trees. Where we came on land we made a little house with boughes, where we rested all that night. In the morning I devided the company three and three to goe every way to see what foode they could find to sustaine themselves, and appointed them to meete there all againe at noone with such foode as they could get. As we went aboord we found great store of peason as good as any wee have in England: a man would thinke they had bene sowed there. We rested there three dayes and three nights and lived very well with pease and berries, wee named the place Saint Laurence, because it was a very goodly river [III. 165.] like the river of S. Laurence in Canada, and we found it very full of Salmons. When wee had well rested our selves wee rowed our boate along the shore, thinking to have gone to the Grande Bay to have come home with some Spanyards which are yeerely there to kill the Whale: And when we were hungry or a thirst we put our boate on land and gathered pease and berries. Thus wee rowed our boate along the shore five dayes: about which time we came to a very goodly river that ranne farre up into the Countrey and saw very goodly growen trees of all sortes. There we happened upon a ship of Saint John de Luz, which ship brought us into Biskay to an Harborough called The Passage. The Master of the shippe was our great friend, or else we had bene put to death if he had not kept our counsayle. For when the visitors came aboord, as it is the order in Spaine, they demaunding what we were, he sayd we were poore fishermen that had cast away our ship in Newfound land, and so the visitors inquired no more of the matter at that time. Assoone as night was come he put us on land and bad us shift for our selves. Then had wee but tenne or twelve miles into France, which we went that night, and then cared not for the Spanyard. And so shortly after we came into England toward the end of the year 1583.

Foureteene of our men brought out of Newfound land in a ship of St. John de Luz.

A true Report of the late discoveries, and possession taken in the right of the Crowne of England of the Newfound Lands, By that valiant and worthy Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight.

Wherein is also briefly set downe, her highnesse lawfull Title thereunto, and the great and manifold commodities, that are likely to grow therby, to the whole Realme in generall, and to the Adventurers in particular: Together with the easinesse and shortnesse of the Voyage.

Written by Sir George Peckham Knight, the chiefe adventurer, and furtherer of Sir Humfrey Gilberts voyage to Newfound Land.

The first Chapter, wherein the Argument of the Booke is contained.

Master Edward Hays.

IT was my fortune (good Reader) not many dayes past, to meete with a right honest and discreete Gentleman, who accompanied that valiant and worthy Knight Sir Humfrey Gilbert, in this last journey for the Westerne discoveries, and is owner and Captaine of the onely vessell which is as yet returned from thence.

By him I understand that Sir Humfrey departed the coast of England the eleventh of June last past, with five sayle of Shippes, from Caushen bay neere Plimmouth, whereof one of the best forsooke his company, the thirteenth day of the same moneth, and returned into England.

The other foure (through the assistance of Almighty God) did arrive at Saint Johns Haven, in Newfound

Sir Humfrey Gilbert did arrive at Saint Johns Haven in Newfound land, the 3. of August. Anno 1583.

land, the 3. of August last. Upon whose arrivall all the Masters and chiefe Mariners of the English Fleet, which were in the said Haven before, endevoring to fraight themselves with fish, repaired unto Sir Humfrey, whom he made acquainted with the effect of his Commission: which being done, he promised to intreat them and their goods well and honourably as did become her Majesties Lieutenant. They did all welcome him in the best sort that they could, and shewed him and his all such courtesies as the place could affoord or yeelde.

Then he went to view the Countrey, being well accompanied with most of his Captaines and souldiers. They found the same very temperate, but somewhat warmer then England at that season of the yeere, replenished with Beasts and great store of Foule of divers kinds: And Fish of sundry sortes, both in the salt water, and in the fresh, in so great plentie as might suffice to victuall an Armie, and they are very easily taken. What sundry other commodities for this Realme right necessarie, the same doeth yeelde, you shall understand in this treatise hereafter, in place more convenient.

Among these there was found the tract of a beast of 7 ynches and a halfe over.

On Munday being the fift of August, the Generall caused his tent to be set upon the side of an hill, in the viewe of all the Fleete of English men and strangers, which were in number betweene thirtie and fourtie sayle: then being accompanied with all his Captaines, Masters, Gentlemen and other souldiers, he caused all the Masters, and principall Officers of the ships, aswell Englishmen as Spanyards, Portugales, and of other nations, to repayre unto his tent: And then and there, in the presence of them all, he did cause his Commission under the great Seale of England to bee openly and solemnely read unto them, whereby were granted unto him, his heires, and assignes, by the Queenes most excellent Majestie, many great and large royalties, liberties, and priviledges. The effect whereof being signified unto the strangers by an Interpreter, hee tooke possession of the sayde land in the right of the Crowne of England by digging of a Turffe and

[III. 166.] *Sir Humfrey tooke possession of the Newfound land in right of the Crowne of England.*

receiving the same with an Hasell wand, delivered unto him, after the maner of the law and custome of England.

Then he signified unto the company both strangers and others, that from thencefoorth, they were to live in that land, as the Territories appertayning to the Crowne of England, and to be governed by such Lawes as by good advise should be set downe, which in all points (so neere as might be) should be agreeable to the Lawes of England: And for to put the same in execution, presently he ordained and established three Lawes.

Three lawes established there by Sir Humfrey.

First, that Religion publiquely exercised, should be such, and none other, then is used in the Church of England.

The second, that if any person should bee lawfully convicted of any practise against her Majestie, her Crowne and dignitie, to be adjudged as traitors according to the Lawes of England.

The third, if any should speake dishonourably of her Majestie, the partie so offending, to loose his eares, his ship and goods, to be confiscate to the use of the Generall.

Sundry persons became Tenants to Sir Humfrey, and doe mainteine possession for him in divers places there.

All men did very willingly submit themselves to these Lawes. Then he caused the Queenes Majesties Armes to be ingraved, set up, and erected with great solemnitie. After this, divers Englishmen made sute unto Sir Humfrey to have of him by inheritance, their accustomed stages, standings & drying places, in sundry places of that land for their fish, as a thing that they doe make great accompt of, which he granted unto them in fee farme. And by this meanes he hath possession maintained for him, in many parts of that Countrey. To be briefe, he did let, set, give and dispose of many things, as absolute Governor there, by vertue of her Majesties letters patents.

And after their ships were repaired, whereof one he was driven to leave behind, both for want of men sufficient to furnish her, as also to carrie home such sicke persons as were not able to proceede any further: He departed from thence the 20. of August, with the other three, namely,

the Delight, wherein was appointed Captaine in M. William Winters place, (that thence returned immediatly for England) M. Maurice Browne: the Golden Hinde, in which was Captaine and owner, M. Edward Hays: and the little Frigat where the Generall himselfe did goe, seeming to him most fit to discover and approch the shore.

The 21. day they came to Cape Race, toward the South partes whereof, lying a while becalmed, they tooke Cod in largenes and quantitie, exceeding the other parts of Newfound land, where any of them had bene. And from thence, trending the coast West, toward the Bay of Placentia, the Generall sent certaine men a shore, to view the Countrey, which to them as they sayled along, seemed pleasant. Whereof his men at their returne gave great commendation, liking so well of the place, as they would willingly have stayed and wintred there. But having the wind faire and good, they proceeded on their course towards the firme of America, which by reason of continuall fogs, at that time of the yeere especially, they could never see, till Cox Master of the Golden Hinde did discerne land, and presently lost sight thereof againe, at what time they were all upon a breach in a great and outragious storme, having under 3. fathome water. But God delivered the Frigat and the Golden Hind, from this great danger. And the Delight in the presence of them all was lost, to their unspeakeable griefe, with all their chiefe victuall, munition, and other necessary provisions, and other things of value not fit here to be named. Whereupon, by reason also that Winter was come upon them, and foule weather increased with fogs and mists that so covered the land, as without danger of perishing they could not approch it: Sir Humfrey Gilbert and M. Hays were compelled much against their willes to retyre homewards: And being 300. leagues on their way, were after by tempestuous weather separated the one from the other, the ninth of September last, since which time M. Hays with his Barke is safely arrived, but of Sir Humfrey as yet they heare no certaine newes.

Upon this report (together with my former intent, to write some briefe discourse in the commendation of this so noble and worthy an enterprise) I did call to my remembrance, the Historie of Themystocles the Grecian, *Plutarch.* who (being a right noble and valiant Captaine) signified unto his Countreymen the Citizens of Athens, that he had invented a devise for their common wealth very profitable: but it was of such importance and secrecie, that it ought not to be revealed, before private conference had with some particular prudent person of their choyse.

The Athenians knowing Aristides the Philosopher, to be a man indued with singular wisedome and vertue, made choyse of him to have conference with Themystcles, and thereupon to yeelde his opinion to the Citizens concerning the sayd devise: which was, that they might set on fire the Navie of their enemies, with great facilitie, as [III. 167.] he had layde the plot: Aristides made relation to the Citizens, that the stratageme devised by Themystocles was a profitable practise for the common wealth but it was dishonest. The Athenians (without further demaund what the same was) did by common consent reject and condemne it, preferring honesty and upright dealing before profite.

By occasion of this Historie, I drewe my selfe into a more deepe consideration of this late undertaken Voyage, whether it were as well pleasing to almightie God, as profitable to men: as lawfull, as it seemed honourable: as well gratefull to the Savages, as gainefull to the Christians. And upon mature deliberation I found the action to be honest and profitable, and therefore allowable by the opinion of Aristides if he were now alive: which being by me herein sufficiently prooved, (as by Gods grace I purpose to doe) I doubt not but that all good mindes will endevour themselves to be assistants to this so commendable an enterprise, by the valiant and worthy Gentlemen our Countrey men already attempted and undertaken.

Now whereas I doe understand that Sir Humfrey Gilbert his adherents, associates and friends doe meane

with a convenient supply (with as much speede as may be) to maintaine, pursue and follow this intended voyage already in part perfourmed, and (by the assistance of almightie God) to plant themselves and their people in the continent of the hither part of America, betweene the degrees of 30. and 60. of septentrionall latitude: Within which degrees by computation Astronomicall and Cosmographicall are doubtlesse to bee found all things that be necessarie, profitable, or delectable for mans life: The clymate milde and temperate, neyther too hote nor too colde, so that under the cope of heaven there is not any where to be found a more convenient place to plant and inhabite in: which many notable Gentlemen, both ‖ of our owne nation and strangers, (who have bene travailers) can testifie: and that those Countries are at this day inhabited with Savages (who have no knowledge of God:) Is it not therefore (I say) to be lamented, that these poore Pagans, so long living in ignorance and idolatry, and in sort thirsting after Christianitie, (as may appeare by the relation of such as have travailed in those partes) that our hearts are so hardened, that fewe or none can be found which will put to their helping hands, and apply themselves to the relieving of the miserable and wretched estate of these sillie soules?

‖ *Englishmen.* *Master John Hawkins.* *Sir Francis Drake.* *M. William Winter.* *M. John Chester.* *M. Martin Frobisher.* *Anthony Parkhurst.* *William Battes.* *John Lovel.* *David Ingram.*

Whose Countrey doeth (as it were with armes advanced) above the climates both of Spaine and France, stretch out it selfe towards England only: In maner praying our ayde and helpe, as it is not onely set forth in Mercators generall Mappe, but it is also found to be true by the discoverie of our nation, and other strangers, who have oftentimes travailed upon the same coasts.

Strangers. *French.* *John Ribault.* *Jaques Cartier.* *Andrew Thevet.* *Monsieur Gourgues.* *Monsieur Laudonniere.*

Christopher Columbus of famous memorie, the first instrument to manifest the great glory and mercie of Almightie God in planting the Christian faith, in those so long unknowen regions, having in purpose to acquaint (as he did) that renoumed Prince, the Queenes Majesties grandfather King Henry the seventh, with his intended voyage for the Westerne discoveries, was not onely

Italians. *Christopher Columbus.* *John Verazanus.*

derided and mocked generally, even here in England, but afterward became a laughing stocke to the Spaniards themselves, who at this day (of all other people) are most bounden to laude and prayse God, who first stirred up the man to that enterprise. *God doeth not alwayes begin his greatest workes by the greatest persons.*

And while he was attending there to acquaint the King of Castile (that then was) with his intended purpose, by how many wayes and meanes was he derided? Some scorned the pildnesse of his garments, some tooke occasion to jest at his simple and silly lookes, others asked if this were he that lowts so lowe, which did take upon him to bring men into a Countrey that aboundeth with Golde, Pearle, and Precious stones? If hee were any such man (sayd they) he would cary another maner of countenance with him, and looke somewhat loftier. Thus some judged him by his garments, and others by his looke and countenance, but none entred into the consideration of the inward man. *His custome was to bowe himselfe very lowe in making of courtesie.*

In the ende, what successe his Voyage had, who list to reade the Decades, the Historie of the West Indies, the conquest of Hernando Cortes about Mexico, and those of Francisco Pizarro in Peru about Casamalcha and Cusco, may know more particularly. All which their discoveries, travailes and conquests are extant to be had in the English tongue. This devise was then accounted a fantasticall imagination, and a drowsie dreame. *Hernando Cortes. Francisco Pizarro.*

But the sequele thereof hath since awaked out of dreames thousands of soules to knowe their Creator, being thereof before that time altogether ignorant: And hath since made sufficient proofe, neither to be fantasticke nor vainely imagined.

Withall, how mightily it hath inlarged the dominions of the Crowne of Spaine, and greatly inriched the subjects of the same, let all men consider. Besides, it is well knowen, that sithence the time of Columbus his first discoverie, through the planting, possessing, and inhabiting those partes, there hath bene transported and brought home into Europe greater store of Golde, Silver, Pearle, [III. 168.]

and Precious stones, then heretofore hath bene in all ages since the creation of the worlde.

I doe therefore heartily wish, that seeing it hath pleased almightie God of his infinite mercy, at the length to awake some of our worthy Countrey men out of that drowsie dreame, wherein we have so long slumbered:

That wee may now not suffer that to quaile for want of maintenance, which by these valiant Gentlemen our Countreymen is so nobly begun & enterprised. For which purpose, I have taken upon me to write this simple short Treatise, hoping that it shall be able to perswade such as have bene, and yet doe continue detractors and hinderers of this journey, (by reason perhaps that they have not deliberately and advisedly entred into the judgement of the matter) that yet now upon better consideration they will become favourable furtherers of the same. And that such as are already well affected thereunto, will continue their good disposition: And withall, I most humbly pray all such as are no nigards of their purses in buying of costly and rich apparel, and liberall Contributors in setting forth of games, pastimes, feastings and banquets, (whereof the charge being past, there is no hope of publique profite or commoditie) that henceforth they will bestowe and employ their liberality (heretofore that way expended) to the furtherance of these so commendable purposed proceedings.

A reasonable request.

And to this ende have I taken pen in hand, as in conscience thereunto mooved, desiring much rather, that of the great multitude which this Realme doeth nourish, farre better able to handle this matter then I my selfe am, it would have pleased some one of them to have undertaken the same. But seeing they are silent, and that it falleth to my lotte to put pen to the paper, I will endevour my selfe, and doe stand in good hope (though my skill and knowledge bee simple, yet through the assistance of almightie God) to proove that the Voyage lately enterprised for trade, traffique, and planting in America, is an action tending to the lawfull enlargement

The argument of the booke.

of her Majesties Dominions, commodious to the whole Realme in generall, profitable to the adventurers in particular, beneficiall to the Savages, and a matter to be atteined without any great danger or difficultie.

And lastly, (which is most of all) A thing likewise tending to the honour and glory of Almightie God. And for that the lawfulnesse to plant in those Countreyes in some mens judgements seemeth very doubtfull, I will beginne the proofe of the lawfulnesse of trade, traffique, and planting.

The second Chapter sheweth, that it is lawfull and necessarie to trade and traffique with the Savages: And to plant in their Countries: And divideth planting into two sorts.

AND first for traffique, I say that the Christians may lawfully travell into those Countries and abide there: whom the Savages may not justly impugne and forbidde in respect of the mutuall societie and fellowshippe betweene man and man prescribed by the Law of Nations.

For from the first beginning of the creation of the world, and from the renewing of the same after Noes flood, all men have agreed, that no violence should be offered to Ambassadours: That the Sea with his Havens should be common: That such as should fortune to be taken in warre, should be servants or slaves: And that strangers should not bee driven away from the place or Countrey whereunto they doe come.

If it were so then, I demaund in what age, and by what Law is the same forbidden or denied since? For who doubteth but that it is lawfull for Christians to use trade and traffique with Infidels or Savages, carrying thither such commodities as they want, and bringing from thence some part of their plentie?

A thing so commonly and generally practised, both in these our dayes, and in times past, beyond the memorie of man, both by Christians and Infidels, that it needeth no further proofe.

And forasmuch as the use of trade and traffique (be it never so profitable) ought not to be preferred before the planting of Christian faith: I will therefore somewhat intreate of planting, (without which, Christian Religion can take no roote, be the Preachers never so carefull and diligent) which I meane to divide into two sortes.

The principall causes why this voyage is undertaken. [III. 169.]

The first, when Christians by the good liking and willing assent of the Savages, are admitted by them to quiet possession.

The second, when Christians being unjustly repulsed, doe seeke to attaine and mainteine the right for which they doe come.

And though in regard of the establishment of Christian Religion, eyther of both may be lawfully and justly exercised: (Whereof many examples may be found, as well in the time of Moyses and Josua, and other rulers before the birth of Christ, as of many vertuous Emperours and Kings sithence his incarnation:) yet doe I wish, that before the second be put in practise, a proofe may be made of the first, saving that for their safetie as well against the Savages, as all other forreigne enemies, they should first well and strongly fortifie themselves: which being done, then by all fayre speeches, and every other good meanes of perswasion to seeke to take away all occasions of offence.

As letting them to understand, how they came not to their hurt, but for their good, and to no other ende, but to dwell peaceably amongst them, and to trade and traffique with them for their owne commoditie, without molesting or grieving them any way: which must not be done by wordes onely but also by deedes.

For albeit, to maintaine right and repell injury, be a just cause of warre: yet must there hereof be heedefull care had, that whereas the Savages be fearefull by nature, and fond otherwise, the Christians should doe their best endevour to take away such feare as may growe unto them by reason of their strange apparell, Armour, and weapon, or such like, by quiet and peaceable conversation,

and letting them live in securitie, and keeping a measure of blamelesse defence, with as little discommoditie to the Savages as may bee: for this kinde of warre would be onely defensive and not offensive.

And questionlesse there is great hope and likelyhoode, that by this kinde of meanes we should bring to passe all effects to our desired purposes: Considering that all creatures, by constitution of nature, are rendred more tractable and easier wonne for all assayes, by courtesie and mildnesse, then by crueltie or roughnesse: and therefore being a principle taught us by naturall reason, it is first to be put in ure.

For albeit as yet the Christians are not so throughly furnished with the perfectnesse of their language, eyther to expresse their mindes to them, or againe to conceive the Savages intent: Yet for the present opportunitie, such policie may be used by friendly signes, and courteous tokens towards them, as the Savages may easily perceive (were their sences never so grosse) an assured friendship to be offered them, and that they are encountered with such a nation, as brings them benefite, commoditie, peace, tranquilitie and safetie. To further this, and to accomplish it in deedes, there must bee presented unto them gratis, some kindes of our pettie marchandizes and trifles: As looking glasses, Belles, Beades, Bracelets, Chaines, or collers of Bewgle, Chrystall, Amber, Jet, or Glasse &c. For such be the things, though to us of small value, yet accounted by them of high price and estimation: and soonest will induce their Barbarous natures to a liking and a mutuall societie with us.

Moreover, it shall be requisite eyther by speeche, if it be possible, either by some other certaine meanes, to signifie unto them, that once league of friendship with all loving conversation being admitted betweene the Christians and them: that then the Christians from thenceforth will alwayes be ready with force of Armes to assist and defend them in their just quarrels, from all invasions, spoyles and oppressions offered them by any Tyrants,

Adversaries, or their next borderers: and a benefite is so much the more to be esteemed, by how much the person upon whom it is bestowed standeth in neede thereof.

For it appeareth by the relation of a Countryman of ours, namely David Ingram, (who travelled in those countries xi. Moneths and more) That the Savages generally for the most part, are at continuall warres with their next adjoyning neighbours, and especially the Cannibals, being a cruell kinde of people, whose foode is mans flesh, and have teeth like dogges, and doe pursue them with ravenous mindes to eate their flesh, and devoure them.

And it is not to be doubted, but that the Christians may in this case justly and lawfully ayde the Savages against the Cannibals. So that it is very likely, that by this meanes we shall not only mightily stirre and inflame their rude mindes gladly to embrace the loving company of the Christians, proffering unto them both commodities, succour, and kindnesse: But also by their franke consents shall easily enjoy such competent quantity of Land, as every way shall be correspondent to the Christians expectation and contentation, considering the great abundance that they have of Land, and how small account they make thereof, taking no other fruites thereby then such as the ground of it selfe doeth naturally yeelde. And thus much concerning the first sort of planting, which as I assuredly hope, so I most heartily pray may take effect and place.

[III. 170.] *The seconde kinde of planting.*

But if after these good and fayre meanes used, the Savages neverthelesse will not bee herewithall satisfied, but barbarously will goe about to practise violence eyther in repelling the Christians from their Ports & safelandings, or in withstanding them afterwards to enjoy the rights for which both painfully and lawfully they have adventured themselves thither:

Then in such a case I holde it no breach of equitie for the Christians to defend themselves, to pursue revenge with force, and to doe whatsoever is necessarie for the atteining of their safetie: For it is allowable by all Lawes in such distresses, to resist violence with violence: And

for their more securitie to increase their strength by building of Forts for avoyding the extremitie of injurious dealing.

Wherein if also they shal not be suffered in reasonable quietnesse to continue, there is no barre (as I judge) but that in stoute assemblies the Christians may issue out, and by strong hand pursue their enemies, subdue them, take possession of their Townes, Cities, or Villages, and (in avoyding murtherous tyrannie) to use the Law of Armes, as in like case among all Nations at this day is used: and most especially to the ende they may with securitie holde their lawfull possession, lest happily after the departure of the Christians, such Savages as have bene converted, should afterwards through compulsion and enforcement of their wicked Rulers, returne to their horrible idolatrie (as did the children of Israel, after the decease of Joshua) and continue their wicked custome of most unnaturall sacrificing of humane creatures.

And in so doing, doubtlesse the Christians shall no whit at all transgresse the bonds of equitie or civilitie, forasmuch as in former ages, (yea, before the incarnation of Christ) the like hath bene done by sundry Kings and Princes, Governours of the children of Israel: chiefly in respect to begin their planting, for the establishment of Gods worde: as also since the Nativitie of Christ, mightie and puissant Emperours and Kings have performed the like, I say to plant, possesse, and subdue. For proofe whereof, I will alledge you examples of both kindes.

Wee reade in the olde Testament, how that after Noes flood was ceased, restauration of mankinde began onely of those fewe of Noes children and familie as were by God preelected to bee saved in the Arke with him, whose seede in processe of time, was multiplyed to infinite numbers of Nations, which in divers sortes divided themselves to sundry quarters of the earth. And forasmuch as all their posteritie being mightily encreased, followed not the perfect life of Noe their predecessour, God chose out of the multitude a peculiar people to himselfe, to whom after-

wardes being under the government of Moyses in Mount Sinay, hee made a graunt to inherite the Land of Canaan, called the Land of promise, with all the other rich and fertile Countries next adjoyning thereunto. Nevertheless, before they came to possession thereof, having bene afflicted with many grievous punishments and plagues for their sinnes, they fell in despayre to enjoy the same.

But being encouraged and comforted by their Rulers, (men of God) they proceeded, arming themselves with all patience, to suffer whatsoever it should please God to send: and at last attaining to the Land, they were encountered with great numbers of strong people, and mighty Kings.

Josua 4. Notwithstanding, Josua their Leader replenished with the Spirite of God, being assured of the justnesse of his quarell, gathered the chiefe strength of the children of Israel together, to the number of 40000. with whom he safely passed the huge river Jordan, and having before *Josua* 6. sent privie spies for the discoverie of the famous citie Jerico, to understand the certaintie of the Citizens estate, he forthwith came thither, and environed it round about with his whole power the space of seven dayes.

In which respite, perceiving none of the Gentiles disposed to yeeld or call for mercie, he then commanded (as God before had appointed) that both the citie Jerico should be burned, yea, and all the inhabitants, as well olde as young, with all their cattell should be destroyed, onely excepted Rahab, her kindred and familie, because shee before had hid secretly the messengers of Josua, that were sent thither as spies. As for all their golde, silver, precious stones, or vessels of brasse, they were reserved and consecrated to the Lords treasurie.

Josua 8. In like maner he burned the citie Hay, slew the inhabitants thereof, and hanged up their King. But for so much as the Gebionites (fearing the like event) sent *Josua* 9. Ambassadours unto Josua to intreate for grace, favour, and peace: hee commaunded that all their lives should bee saved, and that they should be admitted to the com-

pany of the children of Israel. Yet understanding afterwards they wrought this by a policie, he used them as drudges to hewe wood and to carie water, and other necessaries for his people. Thus beganne this valiant Captaine his conquest, which he pursued and never left [III. 171.] till hee had subdued all the Hethites, Amorites, Cananites, *Judg.* 11. 13. Peresites, Hevites, and Jebusites, with all their princes and Kings, being thirtie and one in number, & divers other strange nations, besides whose lands & dominions he wholy divided among Gods people.

After that Josua was deceased, Juda was constituted Lord over the armie, who receiving like charge from God, pursued the proceedings of the holy captaine Josua, and utterly vanquished many Gentiles, Idolaters, and adversaries to the children of Israel, with all such Rulers or Kings as withstoode him, and namely Adonibezek the *Judg.* 1. most cruell tyrant: whose thumbes and great toes he caused to be cut off, for so much as hee had done the like before unto seventie Kings, whom being his prisoners, he forced to gather up their victuals underneath his table. In this God shewed his justice to revenge tyrannie. We reade likewise, that Gedeon a *A good note for al Conquerers to be mercifull.* most puissant and noble warriour so behaved himselfe in following the worthy acts of Josua and Juda, that *Judg.* 6. 7. in short time he not only delivered the children of Israel from the hands of the multitude of the fierce Madianites, but also subdued them and their Tyrants, whose landes he caused Gods people to possesse and inherite.

I could recite divers other places out of the Scripture, which aptly may be applyed hereunto, were it not I doe indevour my selfe by all meanes to be briefe. Now in like maner will I alledge some fewe Inductions out of the autenticall writings of the Ecclesiasticall Historiographers, all tending to the like argument. And first to begin withall, we doe reade: That after our Saviour Jesus Christ had suffered his passion, the Apostles being inspired with the holy Ghost, and the knowledge of all strange languages, did immediatly disperse themselves to

sundry parts of the world, to the preaching of the Gospel. Yet not in so generall a maner, but that there remayned some farre remote Countries unvisited by them, among the which it is reported that India the great, called the uttermost India, as yet had received no light of the word.

Ruffinus lib. 1. cap. 9. But it came to passe, that one Metrodorus a very learned and wise Philosopher in that age, being desirous to search out unknowen lands, did first discover the same, finding it wonderfull populous and rich, which upon his returne being published, and for certaine understood, there was another grave Philosopher of Tyrus called Meropius, being a Christian, who did resolve himselfe (following the example of Metrodorus) to travaile thither, and in a short time assisted but with a fewe, in a small Vessel arrived there, having in his company two yong youths, Edesius and Frumentius, whom (being his schollers) he had throughly instructed both in liberall Sciences, and christian Religion. Now after that Meropius somewhile staying there, had (as hee thought) sufficient understanding of the Indians whole estate: He determined to depart, and to bring notice thereof unto the Emperour, whom he meant to exhort to the conquest of the same.

But by misfortune he was prevented, for being in the middest of his course on the Sea homeward, a sore tempest arose, and perforce drove him backe againe, to an unknowen Port of the sayd land: where he by the most cruell barbarous Indians on the sudden was slaine with all his company, except the two young schollers aforesayde, whom the barbarous Indians, by reason they were of comely stature and beautifull personages, tooke, and forthwith presented them to their King and Queene: which both being very well liked of, the King courteously entreated, and ordeined Edesius to be his Butler, and Frumentius his Secretarie, and in few yeeres by reason of their learning and civill government, they were had in great favour, honour, and estimation with the Princes. But the King departing this life, left the Queene his

Meropius slaine.

Edesius and Frumentius preserved by the Indians.

wife with her yong sonne to governe, and gave free scope and libertie to the two Christians, at their best pleasure to passe to their native soyles, allowing them all necessaries for the same. Yet the Queene who highly favoured them was very sorowfull they should depart, and therefore most earnestly intreated them to tarie and assist her in the government of her people, till such time as her yong sonne grewe to ripe yeeres, which request they fulfilled.

Frumentius in great favour with ye Queene of the Indians.

And Frumentius excelling Edesius farre in all wisedome, ruled both the Queene and her subjects at his discretion, whereby he tooke occasion to put in practise privily, that the foundation of Christian religion might be planted in the hearts of such as with whom he thought his perswasion might best prevaile, and that soonest would give eare unto him: which being brought to passe accordingly, hee then with his fellow Edesius tooke leave of the Queene to returne to his native countrey. And so soone as he was arrived there, he revealed to the Emperour Constantine, the effect of all those events: who both commending his deedes and wholy allowing thereof, by the advise and good liking of Athanasius then Bishop of Alexandria, did arme and set forth a convenient power for the ayde of Frumentius, in this his so godly a purpose. And by this meanes came the Emperour afterwards by faire promises, and by force of armes together, unto the possession of all the Indians countrey. The author of this storie Ruffinus received the trueth hereof from the very mouth of Edesius companion to Frumentius.

An other great worke of God begunne by a man of meane birth.

Ruffinus the Author of this storie.

[III. 172.]

Euseb. in his Ecclesiasticall historie, testifieth how that Constantine the great did enlarge his dominions by subduing of Infidels and Idolatrous nations.

Moreover Eusebius in his Historie Ecclesiasticall in precise termes, and in divers places maketh mention how Constantine the great not onely enlarged his Empire by the subduing of his next neighbours, but also endeavoured by all meanes to subject all such remote Barbarous and Heathen nations, as then inhabited the foure quarters of the worlde. For (as it is written) the Emperour throughly ayded with a puissant armie of

Eusebius lib. 1. de vita Constant. cap. 4. et cap. 9. Euseb. eod. lib. cap. 39.

valiant souldiers whom he had before perswaded to Christian religion, in proper person himselfe came even unto this our country of England, then called the Island of Britaines, bending from him full West, which he wholy conquered, made tributarie, and setled therein Christian faith, and left behinde him such Rulers thereof, as to his wisedome seemed best. From thence hee turned his force towardes the North coast of the world, and there utterly subdued the rude and cruell Nation of the Scythians, whereof part by friendly perswasions, part by maine strength, hee reduced the whole to Christian faith. Afterwards he determined with himselfe to search out what strange people inhabited in the uttermost parts of the South. And with great hazard and labour, making his journey thither, at last became victour over them all, even to the countrey of the Blemmyans, and the remote Æthiopians, that now are the people of Presbyter John, who yet till this day continue and beare the name of Christians.

In the East likewise, what Nation soever at that time he could have notice of, he easily wonne and brought in subjection to the Empire. So that to conclude, there was no region in any part of the world, the inhabitants whereof being Gentiles, though unknowen unto him, but in time he overcame and vanquished.

This worthy beginning of Constantine, both his sonnes succeeding his roome, and also divers other Emperours afterward to their uttermost endevour followed and continued, which all the bookes of Eusebius more at large set foorth. Theodoretus likewise in his Ecclesiasticall historie maketh mention how Theodosius the vertuous Emperour imployed earnestly all his time, as well in conquering the Gentiles to the knowledge of the holy Gospel, utterly subverting their prophane Temples and abominable Idolatry, as also in extinguishing of such usurping tyrants as with Paganisme withstood the planting of Christian religion. After whose decease his sonnes Honorius and Arcadius were created Emperours,

Theodoret. in eccle. lib. 5. cap. 20.

Theodoretus cap. 26. eodem lib.

the one of the East, the other of the West, who with all stout godlinesse most carefully imitated the foresteps of their Father, eyther in enlarging theyr territories, or increasing the christian flocke.

Moreover, it is reported by the sayd author, that Theodosius junior the Emperour, no whit inferiour in vertuous life to any of the above named Princes, with great studie and zeale pursued and prosecuted the Gentiles, subdued their tyrants and countries, and utterly destroyed all their idolatry, converting their soules to acknowledge their onely Messias and Creator, and their Countries to the enlargement of the Empire. To be briefe, who so listeth to read Eusebius Pamphilus, Socrates Scholasticus, Theodoritus, Hermia, Sozomen, and Euagrius Scholasticus, which all were most sage Ecclesiasticall writers, shall finde great store of examples of the worthy lives of sundry Emperours, tending all to the confirmation of my former speeches.

And for like examples of later time, (yea even in the memorie of man) I shall not neede to recite any other then the conquest made of the West and East Indies by the Kings of Spaine and Portugall, whereof there is particular mention made in the last Chapter of this booke. Herein have I used more copy of examples then otherwise I would have done, saving that I have bene in place, where this maner of planting the Christian faith hath bene thought of some to be scarce lawfull, yea, such as doe take upon them to be more then meanely learned. To these examples could I joyne many moe, but whosoever is not satisfied with these fewe, may satisfie himselfe in reading at large the Authors last above recited. Thus have I (as I trust) prooved that we may justly trade and traffique with the Savages, and lawfully plant and inhabite their Countries.

[The third

The third Chapter doeth shew the lawfull title which the Queenes most excellent Majestie hath unto those Countries, which through the ayde of Almighty God are meant to be inhabited.

1170. *Owen Gwyneth was then Prince of Northwales. Nullum tempus occurrit Regi.*

AND it is very evident that the planting there shal in time right amply enlarge her Majesties Territories and Dominions, or (I might rather say) restore to her Highnesse ancient right and interest in those Countries, into the which a noble and worthy personage, lineally descended from the blood royall, borne in Wales, named Madock ap Owen Gwyneth, departing from the coast of England, about the yeere of our Lord God 1170. arrived and there planted himselfe and his Colonies, and afterward returned himselfe into England, leaving certaine of his people there, as appeareth in an ancient Welsh Chronicle, where he then gave to certaine Ilands, beastes, and foules sundry Welsh names, as the Iland of Pengwin, which yet to this day beareth the same.

[III. 173.]

This Island was discovered by Sir Humfrey and his company, in this his last journey.

There is likewise a foule in the saide countreys called by the same name at this day, and is as much to say in English, as Whitehead, and in trueth the said foules have white heads. There is also in those countreis a fruit called Gwynethes which is likewise a Welsh word. Moreover, there are divers other Welsh wordes at this day in use, as David Ingram aforesaid reporteth in his relations. All which most strongly argueth, the sayd prince with his people to have inhabited there. And the same in effect is confirmed by Mutezuma that mightie Emperour of Mexico, who in an Oration unto his subjects for the better pacifying of them, made in the presence of Hernando Cortes used these speeches following.

Mutezuma his Oration to his subjects in presence of Hernando Cortes, which Oration was made about the yeere 1520.

MY kinsmen, friends, and servants, you doe well know that eighteene yeres I have bene your King, as my fathers and grandfathers were, and alwayes I have bene unto you a loving Prince, and you unto me good

and obedient subjects, and so I hope you will remaine unto mee all the dayes of my life. You ought to have in remembrance, that either you have heard of your fathers, or else our divines have instructed you, that wee are not naturally of this countrey, nor yet our kingdome is durable, because our forefathers came from a farre countrey, and their King and Captaine, who brought them hither, returned againe to his naturall Countrey, saying that he would send such as should rule and governe us, if by chance he himselfe returned not, &c.

These be the very wordes of Mutezuma set downe in the Spanish Chronicles, the which being throughly considered, because they have relation to some strange noble person, who long before had possessed those countreys, doe all sufficiently argue the undoubted title of her Majestie: forasmuch as no other Nation can truely by any Chronicles they can finde, make prescription of time for themselves, before the time of this Prince Madoc. Besides all this, for further proofe of her highnesse title sithence the arrivall of this noble Briton into those parts (that is to say) in the time of the Queenes grandfather of worthy memory, King Henry the seventh, Letters patents were by his Majestie granted to John Cabota an Italian, to Lewis, Sebastian and Sancius, his three sonnes, to discover remote, barbarous and heathen Countreys, which discovery was afterwardes executed to the use of the Crowne of England, in the sayde Kings time, by Sebastian and Sancius his sonnes, who were borne here in England: in true testimony whereof there is a faire haven in Newfoundland, knowen, and called untill this day by the name of Sancius haven, which proveth that they first discovered upon that coast from the height of 63 unto the cape of Florida, as appeareth in the Decades.

M. Oliver Dalbony.
M. Edward Reow.
M. R. H.
M. I. A.

And this may stand for another title to her Majesty: but any of the foresayd titles is as much or more then any other Christian Prince can pretend to the Indies, before such time as they had actuall possession thereof,

obtained by the discovery of Christopher Columbus, and the conquest of Vasques Nunnes de Balboa, Hernando Cortes, Francisco Pizarro, and others. And therefore I thinke it needlesse to write any more touching the lawfulnesse of her Majesties title.

The fourth chapter sheweth how that the trade, traffike, and planting in those countreys, is likely to prove very profitable to the whole realme in generall.

NOw to shew how the same is likely to proove very profitable and beneficiall generally to the whole realme: it is very certaine, that the greatest jewell of this realme, and the chiefest strength and force of the same, for defence or offence in marshall matter and maner, is the multitude of ships, masters and mariners, ready to assist the most stately and royall navy of her Majesty, which by reason of this voyage shall have both increase and maintenance. And it is well knowen that in sundry places of this realme ships have beene built and set forth of late dayes, for the trade of fishing onely: yet notwithstanding the fish which is taken and brought into England by the English navy of fishermen, will not suffice for the expense of this realme foure moneths, if there were none els brought of strangers. And the chiefest cause why our English men doe not goe so farre Westerly as the especiall fishing places doe lie, both for plenty and greatnesse of fish, is for that they have no succour and knowen safe harbour in those parts. But if our nation were once planted there, or neere thereabouts; whereas they now fish but for two moneths in the yeere, they might then fish so long as pleased themselves, or rather at their comming finde such plenty of fish ready taken, salted, and dried, as might be sufficient to fraught them home without long delay (God granting that salt may be found there) whereof David Ingram (who travelled in those countreys as aforesayd) sayth that there is great plenty: and withall the climate doth give great hope, that though there were none

Cox the master.

[III. 174.]

naturally growing, yet it might as well be made there by art, as it is both at Rochel and Bayon, or elsewhere. Which being brought to passe, shall increase the number of our shippes and mariners, were it but in respect of fishing onely: but much more in regard of the sundry merchandizes and commodities which are there found, and had in great abundance.

Moreover, it is well knowen that all Savages, aswell those that dwell in the South, as those that dwell in the North, so soone as they shall begin but a little to taste of civility, will take marvelous delight in any garment, be it never so simple; as a shirt, a blew, yellow, red, or greene cotten cassocke, a cap, or such like, and will take incredible paines for such a trifle.

For I my selfe have heard this report made sundry times by divers of our countreymen, who have dwelt in the Southerly parts of the West Indies, some twelve yeeres together, and some of lesse time; that the people in those parts are easily reduced to civility both in maners and garments. Which being so, what vent for our English clothes will thereby ensue, and how great benefit to all such persons and artificers, whose names are quoted in the margent, I do leave to the judgement of such as are discreet.

Clothiers.
Woolmen.
Carders.
Spinners.
Weavers.
Fullers.
Sheermen.
Diers.
Drapers.
Cappers.
Hatters, &c.
and many decayed townes repayred.

And questionlesse, hereby it will also come to passe, that all such townes and villages as both have beene, and now are utterly decayed and ruinated (the poore people thereof being not set on worke, by reason of the transportation of raw wooll of late dayes more excessively then in times past) shal by this meanes be restored to their pristinate wealth and estate: all which doe likewise tend to the inlargement of our navy, and maintenance of our navigation.

To what end need I endevour my selfe by arguments to prove that by this voyage our navie and navigation shalbe inlarged, when as there needeth none other reason then the manifest & late example of the neere neighbours to this realme, the kings of Spaine and Portugall, who

since the first discovery of the Indies, have not onely mightily inlarged their dominions, greatly inriched themselves and their subjects: but have also by just account trebled the number of their shippes, masters and mariners, a matter of no small moment and importance?

The idle persons of this realme shall by occasion of this journey bee well imployed & set on worke.

Besides this, it will proove a generall benefit unto our countrey, that through this occasion, not onely a great number of men which do now live idlely at home, and are burthenous, chargeable, & unprofitable to this realme, shall hereby be set on worke, but also children of twelve or fourteene yeeres of age, or under, may bee kept from idlenesse, in making of a thousand kindes of trifling things, which wil be good merchandize for that countrey. And moreover, our idle women (which the Realme may well spare) shall also be imployed on plucking, drying, and sorting of feathers, in pulling, beating, and working of hempe, and in gathering of cotton, and divers things right necessary for dying. All which things are to be found in those countreys most plentifully. And the men may imploy themselves in dragging for pearle, woorking for mines, and in matters of husbandry, and likewise in hunting the Whale for Trane, and making caskes to put the same in: besides in fishing for cod, salmon, and herring, drying salting and barrelling the same, and felling of trees, hewing and sawing of them, and such like worke, meete for those persons that are no men of Art or science.

Hempe doeth growe neere S. Laurence river naturally.

Many other things may bee found to the great reliefe and good employments of no small number of the naturall Subjects of this Realme, which doe now live here idlely to the common annoy of the whole state. Neither may I here omit the great hope and likelyhood of a passage beyond the Grand Bay into the South Seas, confirmed by sundry authours to be found leading to Cataia, the Moluccas and Spiceries, whereby may ensue as generall a benefite to the Realme, or greater then yet hath bene spoken of, without either such charges, or other inconveniences, as by the tedious tract of time and

Read the beginning of the booke intituled, Divers voyages touching the discovery of America.

perill, which the ordinary passage to those parts at this day doeth minister.

And to conclude this argument withall, it is well knowen to all men of sound judgement, that this voyage is of greater importance, and will be found more beneficiall to our countrey, then all other voyages at this day in use and trade amongst us.

The fift chapter sheweth, that the trading and planting in those countreis is likely to prove to the particular profit of all adventurers.

I Must now according to my promise shew foorth some probable reasons that the adventurers in this journey are to take particular profit by the same. It is therefore convenient that I doe divide the adventurers into two sorts: the noblemen and gentlemen by themselves, and the [III. 175.] Merchants by themselves. For, as I doe heare, it is meant that there shall be one societie of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and another societie of the merchants. And yet not so divided, but that eche society may freely and frankely trade and traffique one with the other.

And first to bend my speech to the noblemen and gentlemen, who doe chiefly seeke a temperate climate, wholesome ayre, fertile soile, and a strong place by nature whereupon they may fortifie, and there either plant themselves, or such other persons as they shall thinke good to send to bee lords of that place and countrey: to them I say, that all these things are very easie to be found within the degrees of 30 and 60 aforesaid, either by South or North, both in the Continent, and in Islands thereunto adjoyning at their choise: but the degree certaine of the elevation of the pole, and the very climate where these places of force and fertility are to be found, I omit to make publike, for such regard as the wiser sort can easily conjecture: the rather because I doe certainly understand, that some of those which have the managing of this

matter, knowe it as well or better then I my selfe, and do meane to reveale the same, when cause shall require, to such persons whom it shall concerne, and to no other: so that they may seat & settle themselves in such climate as shall best agree with their owne nature, disposition, and good liking: and in the whole tract of that land, by the description of as many as have bene there, great plentie of minerall matter of all sorts, and in very many places, both stones of price, pearle and christall, and great store of beasts, birds, and fowles both for pleasure and necessary use of man are to be found.

Beasts for pleasure.

And for such as take delight in hunting, there are Stagges, Wilde bores, Foxes, Hares, Cunnies, Badgers, Otters, and divers other such like for pleasure. Also for such as have delight in hauking, there are haukes of sundry kinds, and great store of game, both for land and river, as Fezants, Partridges, Cranes, Heronshawes, Ducks, Mallards, and such like. There is also a kinde of beast much bigger then an Oxe, whose hide is more then eighteene foote long, of which sort a countreyman of ours, one Walker a sea man, who was upon that coast, did for a trueth report in the presence of divers honourable and worshipfull persons, that he and his company did finde in one cottage above two hundred and fortie hides, which they brought away and solde in France for fortie shillings an hide; and with this agreeth David Ingram, and describeth that beast at large, supposing it to be a certaine kinde of Buffe; there are likewise beasts and fowles of divers kinds, which I omit for brevities sake, great store of fish both in the salt water and in the fresh, plentie of grapes as bigge as a mans thumbe, and the most delicate wine of the Palme tree, of which wine there be divers of good credit in this realme that have tasted: and there is also a kind of graine called Maiz, Potato rootes, and sundry other fruits naturally growing there: so that after such time as they are once setled, they shall neede to take no great care for victuall.

Hides solde for forty shillings a piece.

Great grapes. Wine of the Palme trees.

And now for the better contentation and satisfaction

of such worshipfull, honest minded, and well disposed Merchants, as have a desire to the furtherance of every good and commendable action, I will first say unto them, as I have done before to the Noblemen and Gentlemen, that within the degrees abovesayde, is doubtlesse to bee found the most wholesome and best temperature of ayre, fertilitie of soyle, and every other commoditie or merchandize, for the which, with no small perill we doe travell into Barbary, Spaine, Portugall, France, Italie, Moscovie and Eastland. All which may be either presently had, or at the least wise in very short time procured from thence with lesse danger then now we have them. And yet to the ende my argument shall not altogether stand upon likelihoods and presumptions, I say that such persons as have discovered and travelled those partes, doe testifie that they have found in those countryes all these things following, namely:

Of beasts for furres.
Marterns.
Beavers.
Foxes, blacke and white.
Leopards.

Of wormes.
Silke wormes great & large.

Of Birds.
Hawkes.
Bitters.
Curlewes.
Herons.
Partridges.
Cranes.
Mallards.
Wilde geese.
Stocke dooves.
Margaus.
Blacke birds.
Parrots.
Pengwins.

Of Fishes.
Codde.
Salmon.
Seales.
Herrings.

Of Trees.
Palme trees yeelding sweet wines.
Cedars.
Firres.
Sasafras.
Oake.
Elme.
Popler.

And sundry other strange Trees to us unknowen.

[III. 176.]

Of fruites.	Of Mettals.
Grapes very large.	Golde.
Muskemellons.	Silver.
Limons.	Copper.
Dates great.	Lead.
Orrenges.	Tinne.
Figges.	Of Stones.
Prunes.	Turkeis.
Raisins great and small.	Rubies.
Pepper.	Pearls great & faire.
Almonds.	Marble, of divers kindes.
Citrons.	Jasper.
	Christall.

Sundry other commodities of all sorts.

Rosen.	Salt.
Pitch.	Tallow.
Tarre.	Hides.
Turpentine.	Hempe.
Frankincense.	Flaxe.
Honny.	Cochenello & dies of divers sorts.
Waxe.	Feathers of sundrie sorts, as for pleasure and filling of Feather-beds.
Rubarbe.	
Oyle Olive.	
Traine oyle.	
Muske codde.	

And seeing that for small costs, the trueth of these things may be understood (whereof this intended supply will give us more certaine assurance) I doe finde no cause to the contrary, but that all well minded persons should be willing to adventure some competent portion for the furtherance of so good an enterprise.

Now for the triall hereof, considering that in the articles of the societie of the adventurers in this voyage, there is provision made, that no adventurer shall be bound to any further charge then his first adventure: and yet notwithstanding keepe still to himselfe his children, his

apprentises and servants, his and their freedome for trade and traffique, which is a priviledge that adventurers in other voyages have not: and in the said articles it is likewise provided, that none other then such as have adventured in the first voyage, or shal become adventurers in this supply, at any time hereafter are to be admitted in the said society, but as redemptionaries, which will be very chargeable: therefore generally I say unto all such according to the olde proverbe, Nothing venture, nothing have. For if it do so fall out, according to the great hope and expectation had, (as by Gods grace it will) the gaine which now they reape by traffique into other farre countries, shal by this trade returne with lesse charge, greater gaine, and more safety: Lesse charge, I say, by reason of the ample and large deepe rivers at the very banke, whereof there are many, whereby both easily and quietly they may transport from the innermost parts of the main land, all kind of merchandize, yea in vessels of great burden, and that three times, or twise in the yere at the least. But let us omit all presumptions how vehement soever, and dwel upon the certainty of such commodities as were discovered by S. Humfrey Gilbert, & his assistants in Newfound land in August last. For there may be very easily made Pitch, Tarre, Rosen, Sope ashes in great plenty, yea, as it is thought, inough to serve the whole realme of every of these kindes: And of Traine oyle such quantity, as if I should set downe the value that they doe esteeme it at, which have bene there, it would seeme incredible.

Commodities found in August last.

It is hereby intended, that these commodities in this abundant maner, are not to be gathered from thence, without planting and setling there. And as for other things of more value, and that of more sorts and kindes then one or two (which were likewise discovered there) I doe holde them for some respects, more meete for a time to be concealed then uttered.

Of the fishing I doe speake nothing, because it is generally knowen: and it is not to be forgotten, what trifles

they be that the Savages doe require in exchange of these commodities: yea, for pearle, golde, silver, and precious stones. All which are matters in trade and traffique of great moment. But admit that it should so fall out, that the above specified commodities shall not happily be found out within this first yeere: Yet it is very cleere that such and so many may be found out as shall minister just occasion to thinke all cost and labour well bestowed. For it is very certaine, that there is one seat fit for fortification, of great safety, wherein these commodities following, especially are to be had, that is to say, Grapes for wine, Whales for oyle, Hempe for cordage, and other necessary things, and fish of farre greater sise and plenty, then that of Newfound land, and of all these so great store, as may suffice to serve our whole realme.

Besides all this, if credit may be given to the inhabitants of the same soile, a certaine river doth thereunto adjoyne, which leadeth to a place abounding with rich substance: I doe not hereby meane the passage to the Moluccaes, whereof before I made mention.

And it is not to be omitted, how that about two yeeres past, certaine merchants of S. Malo in France, did hyre a ship out of the Island of Jersey, to the ende that they would keepe that trade secret from their Countreymen, and they would admit no mariner, other then the ship boy belonging to the sayd ship, to goe with them, which shippe was about 70. tunne. I doe know the [III. 177.] shippe and the boy very well, and am familiarly acquainted with the owner, which voyage prooved very beneficiall.

To conclude, this which is already sayd, may suffice any man of reasonable disposition to serve for a taste, untill such time as it shall please almighty God through our owne industrie, to send us better tydings. In the meane season, if any man well affected to this journey, shall stand in doubt of any matter of importance touching the same, he may satisfie himselfe with the judgement and liking of such of good calling and credite, as are principall dealers herein. For it is not necessary in this

treatise, publikely to set forth the whole secrets of the voyage.

The sixt Chapter sheweth that the traffique and planting in those countries, shall be unto the Savages themselves very beneficiall and gainefull.

NOw to the end it may appeare that this voyage is not undertaken altogether for the peculiar commodity of our selves and our countrey (as generally other trades and journeis be) it shall fall out in proofe, that the Savages shall hereby have just cause to blesse the houre when this enterprise was undertaken.

First and chiefly, in respect of the most happy and gladsome tidings of the most glorious Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whereby they may be brought from falshood to trueth, from darknesse to light, from the hie way of death to the path of life, from superstitious idolatrie to sincere Christianity, from the devill to Christ, from hell to heaven. And if in respect of all the commodities they can yeelde us (were they many moe) that they should but receive this onely benefit of Christianity, they were more then fully recompenced.

But heereunto it may bee objected, that the Gospel must bee freely preached, for such was the example of the Apostles: unto whom although the authorities and examples before alledged of Emperors, Kings and Princes, aswel before Christs time as since, might sufficiently satisfie: yet for further answere, we may say with S. Paul, If wee have sowen unto you heavenly things, doe you thinke it much that we should reape your carnall things? And withall, The workman is worthy of his hire. These heavenly tidings which those labourers our countreymen (as messengers of Gods great goodnesse and mercy) will voluntarily present unto them, doe farre exceed their earthly riches. Moreover, if the other inferiour worldly and temporall things which they shall receive from us, be weighed in equall ballance, I assure my selfe, that by equal judgement of any indiffer- *Corinth.* 9.

ent person, the benefits which they then receive, shall farre surmount those which they shall depart withall unto us. And admit that they had (as they have not) the knowledge to put their land to some use: yet being brought from brutish ignorance to civilitie and knowledge, and made then to understand how the tenth part of their Land may be so manured and employed, as it may yeeld more commodities to the necessary use of mans life, then the whole now doeth: What just cause of complaint may they have? And in my private opinion, I do verily thinke that God did create land, to the end that it should by culture and husbandry yeeld things necessary for mans life.

But this is not all the benefit which they shall receive by the Christians: for, over and beside the knowledge how to till and dresse their grounds, they shal be reduced from unseemely customes to honest maners, from disordered riotous routs and companyes to a well governed common wealth, and withall, shalbe taught mechanicall occupations, arts, and liberall sciences: and which standeth them most upon, they shalbe defended from the cruelty of their tyrannicall and blood sucking neighbors the Canibals, whereby infinite number of their lives shalbe preserved. And lastly, by this meanes many of their poore innocent children shall be preserved from the bloody knife of the sacrificer, a most horrible and detestable custome in the sight of God and man, now and ever heretofore used amongst them. Many other things could I heere alledge to this purpose, were it not that I doe feare lest I have already more then halfe tired the reader.

This bargen cannot be unjust, where both parties are gainers.

The seventh Chapter sheweth that the planting there, is not a matter of such charge or difficultie, as many would make it seeme to be.

NOw therefore for proofe, that the planting in these parts is a thing that may be done without the ayde of the Princes power and purse, contrary to the allega-

tion of many malicious persons, who wil neither be actors in any good action themselves, nor so much as afoord a good word to the setting forward thereof: and that worse is, they will take upon them to make mole-hilles seeme mountaines, and flies elephants, to the end they may discourage others, that be very well or indifferently affected to the matter, being like unto Esops dogge, which neither would eate Hay himselfe, nor suffer the poore hungry asse to feede thereon:

I say and affirme that God hath provided such meanes [III. 178.] for the furtherance of this enterprise, as doe stand us in stead of great treasure: for first by reason that it hath pleased God of his great goodnesse, of long time to hold his merciful hand over this realme, in preserving the people of the same, both from slaughter by the sword, and great death by plague, pestilence, or otherwise, there are at this day great numbers (God he knoweth) which live in such penurie & want, as they could be contented to hazard their lives, and to serve one yeere for meat, drinke and apparell only, without wages, in hope thereby to amend their estates: which is a matter in such like journeyes, of no small charge to the prince. Moreover, things in the like journyes of greatest price and cost as victuall (whereof there is great plentie to be had in that countrey without money) and powder, great artillery, or corselets are not needefull in so plentifull and chargeable maner, as the shew of such a journey may present: for a small quantitie of all these, to furnish the Fort only, will suffice untill such time as divers commodities may be found out in those parts, which may be thought well worthy a greater charge. Also the peculiar benefit of archers which God hath blessed this land withall before all other nations, will stand us in great stead amongst those naked people.

Another helpe we have also, which in such like cases is a matter of marveilous cost, and will be in this journey procured very easily (that is to say) To transport yeerely

aswell our people, as all other necessaries needfull for them into those parts by the fleet of merchants, that yeerely venture for fish in Newfound-land, being not farre distant from the countrey meant to be inhabited, who commonly goe with emptie vessels in effect, saving some litle fraight with salt. And thus it appeareth that the souldiers wages, and the transportation may be defrayed for farre lesse summes of money then the detractors of this enterprise have given out. Againe, this intended voyage for conquest, hath in like maner many other singular priviledges wherewith God hath, as it were, with his holy hand blessed the same before all others. For after once we are departed the coast of England, wee may passe straightway thither, without danger of being driven into any the countries of our enemies, or doubtfull friends: for commonly one winde serveth to bring us thither, which seldome faileth from the middle of Januarie to the middle of May, a benefite which the mariners make great account of, for it is a pleasure that they have in a few or none of other journeyes. Also the passage is short, for we may goe thither in thirtie or fortie dayes at the most, having but an indifferent winde, and returne continually in twenty or foure and twentie dayes at the most. And in the same our journey, by reason it is in the Ocean, and quite out of the way from the intercourse of other countreyes, we may safely trade and traffique without peril of piracy: neither shall our ships, people, or goods there, be subject to arrest or molestation of any Pagan potentate, Turkish tyrant, yea, or Christian prince, which heretofore sometimes upon slender occasion in other parts have stayed our ships and merchandizes, whereby great numbers of our countreymen have bene utterly undone, divers put to ransome, yea, and some lost their lives: a thing so fresh in memorie as it needeth no proofe, and is well worthy of consideration.

Besides, in this voyage we doe not crosse the burnt line, whereby commonly both beverage and victuall are

corrupted, and mens health very much impayred, neither doe we passe the frozen seas, which yeelde sundry extreme dangers: but have a temperate climate at all times of the yeere, to serve our turnes. And lastly, there neede no delayes by the way for taking in of fresh water and fewell, (a thing usually done in long journies) because, as I sayd above, the voyage is not long, and the fresh waters taken in there, our men here in England at their returne home have found so wholsome and sweete, that they have made choise to drinke it before our beere and ale.

Behold heere, good countreymen, the manifold benefits, commodities and pleasures heretofore unknowen, by Gods especiall blessing not onely reveiled unto us, but also as it were infused into our bosomes, who though hitherto like dormice have slumbered in ignorance thereof, being like the cats that are loth for their prey to wet their feet: yet if now therefore at the last we would awake, and with willing mindes (setting frivolous imaginations aside) become industrious instruments to our selves, questionlesse we should not only hereby set forth the glory of our heavenly father, but also easily attaine to the end of all good purposes that may be wished or desired.

And may it not much encourage us to hope for good successe in the countrey of these Savages, being a naked kinde of people, voyde of the knowledge of the discipline of warre, seeing that a noble man, being but a subject in this realme (in the time of our king Henry the second) by name Strangbow, then earle of Chepstow in South Wales, by himselfe and his allies and assistants, at their owne proper charges passed over into Ireland, and there made conquest of the now countrey, and then kingdome of Lynester, at which time it was very populous and strong, which History our owne chronicles do witnesse? And why should we be dismayed more then were the Spanyards, who have bene able within these few yeeres to conquer, possesse and enjoy so large a

[III. 179.] tract of the earth, in the West Indies, as is betweene the two tropikes of Cancer and Capricorne, not onely in the maine firme land of America, which is 47. degrees in latitude from South to North, and doth containe 2820. English miles at the least, that the king of Spaine hath there in actuall possession, besides many goodly and rich Islands, as Hispaniola, now called S. Domingo, Cuba, Jamaica, and divers other, which are both beautifull and full of treasure, not speaking any whit at all, how large the said land is from East to West, which in some places is accounted to be 1500. English miles at the least from East to West, betweene the one Sea and the other.

2. Decad. lib. 5. fol. 77. of the West Indies, in English. Canoa is a kind of boat. Or why should our noble nation be dismaid, more then was Vasques Nunnes de Valboa, a private gentleman of Spaine, who with the number of 70. Spaniards at Tichiri, gave an overthrow unto that mighty king Chemaccus, having an armie of an hundred Canoas and 5000. men, and the said Vasques Nunnes not long after, with his small number, did put to flight king Chiapes his whole armie. *3. Decad. lib. 1. fol. 97. About the yere of our Lord 1511.*

Likewise Hernando Cortes, being also but a private gentleman of Spaine, after his departure from the Islands of Cuba and Acuzamil, and entring into the firme of America, had many most victorious & triumphant conquests, as that at Cyntla, where being accompanied with lesse then 500. Spanish footmen, thirteene horsemen and sixe pieces of Ordinance only, he overthrew 40000. Indians. *Conquest of the West Indies. fol. 43. and 45. English.* The same Cortes with his sayd number of Spanyards, tooke prisoner that mighty Emperour Mutezuma in his most chiefe and famous citie of Mexico, which at that instant had in it above the number of 50000. Indians at the least, and in short time after obteined not onely the quiet possession of the said citie, but also of his whole Empire.

And in like maner in the Countrey of Peru, which the king of Spaine hath now in actuall possession, Francisco Pysarro, with the onely ayd of Diego de Almagro,

and Hernando Luche, being all three but private gentlemen, was the principall person that first attempted discoverie and conquest of the large and rich countrey of Peru, which through the ayd of the almighty, he brought to passe and atchieved in the Tambo of Caxamalca, (which is a large place of ground, enclosed with walles) in which place he tooke the great and mightie prince Atabalipa prisoner, amidst the number of 60000. Indians his subjects, which were ever before that day accounted to bee a warlike kind of people, which his great victorie it pleased God to grant unto him in the yeere of our Lord God 1533. he not having in his company above the number of 210. Spanyards, wherof there were not past threescore horsemen in all: after the taking of which prince Atabalipa, he offered unto Pyzarro for his ransome, to fill a great large hall full of gold and silver, and such golde and silver vessels as they then used, even as high as a man might reach with his arme. And the sayd prince caused the same hall to be marked round about at the sayd height, which ransome Pyzarro granted to accept. And after, when as this mighty prince had sent to his vassals & subjects to bring in gold and silver for the filling of the hall, as aforesaid, as namely to the cities or townes of Quito, Paciacama and Cusco, as also to the Calao of Lima, in which towne, as their owne writers doe affirme, they found a large and faire house, all slated and covered with gold: and when as the said hall was not yet a quarter ful, a mutinie arose amongst the Spanyards, in which it was commonly given out, that the said prince had politikely offered this great ransome under pretence to raise a much more mightie power, whereby the Spanyards should be taken, slaine and overthrowen: whereupon they grew to this resolution, to put the sayd prince to death, and to make partition of the golde and silver already brought in, which they presently put in execution. And comming to make perfect Inventorie of the same, as wel for the Emperour then king of

A marveilous victorie.

Spaine, his fift part, as otherwise, there was found to be already brought in into the sayd hall, the number of 132425. pound weight of silver, and in golde the number of 1828125. pezos, which was a riches never before that nor since seene of any man together, of which there did appertaine to the Emperour for his fift part of golde 365625. pezos, and for his fift part of silver 26485. pound waight, and to every horseman eight thousand pezos of gold, and 67. pound waight of silver. Every souldiour had 4550. pezos of gold and 280. pound waight of silver. Every Captaine had some 30000. some 20000. pezos of gold and silver, proportionally answerable to their degrees and calling, according to the rate agreed upon amongst them.

Francis Pizarro as their generall, according to his decree and calling proportionally, had more then any of the rest, over and besides the massie table of gold which Atabalipa had in his Litter, which waighed 25000. pezos of gold: never were there before that day souldiours so rich in so small a time, and with so little danger. And in this journey for want of yron, they did shooe their horses, some with gold, and some with silver. This is to bee seene in the generall historie of the West Indies, where as the doings of Pizarro, and the conquest of Peru is more at large set forth.

[III. 180.] To this may I adde the great discoveries and conquests which the princes of Portugall have made round about the West, the South, and the East parts of Africa, and also at Callicut, and in the East Indies, and in America, at Brasile and elsewhere in sundry Islands, in fortifying, peopling and planting all along the sayd coastes and Islands, ever as they discovered: which being rightly weyed and considered, doth minister just cause of incouragement to our Countreymen, not to account it so hard and difficult a thing for the subjects of this noble realme of England, to discover, people, plant and possesse the like goodly lands and rich countreys not farre from us, but neere adjoyning & offring themselves unto us

(as is aforesayd) which have never yet heretofore bene in the actuall possession of any other Christian prince, then the princes of this Realme. All which (as I thinke) should not a little animate and encourage us to looke out and adventure abroad, understanding what large Countreys and Islands the Portugals with their small number have within these few yeeres discovered, peopled and planted, some part whereof I have thought it not amisse, briefly in particular to name both the Townes, Countreys & Islands, so neere as I could upon the sudden call them to remembrance: for the rest I doe referre the Reader to the histories, where more at large the same is to be seene. First, they did winne and conquere from the princes of Barbary the Island of Geisera & towne of Arzila, not past an 140. mile distant from their Metropolitane & chiefe city of Fesse: and after that they wonne also from the said princes the townes of Tanger, Ceuta, Mazigam, Azamor, and Azaffi, all alongst the Sea coasts. And in the yeere of our Lord, 1455. Alouis de Cadomosta a Gentleman Venetian, was hee that first discovered for their use Cape Verd, with the Islands adjoyning, of which he then peopled and planted those of Bonavista and Sant Iago discovering also the river Senega, otherwise called Niger, and Cape Roxo & Sierra Leone, and in a few yeeres after they did discover the coast of Guinea, and there peopled and built the castle of Mina: then discovered they further to the countreys of Melegettes, Benin, and Congo, with the Ilands of Principe, da Nobon, S. Matthewe, and S. Thomas under the Equinoctiall line, which they peopled, and built in the said Island of S. Thomas the haven towne or port of Pavosan. After that, about the yeere of our Lord, 1494. one Bartholomew Dias was sent foorth, who was the first man that discovered and doubled that great and large Cape called de Bon Esperanze, & passing the currents that run upon the said coast, on the Southeast part of Africa, between the said maine land & the Island of S. Laurence, otherwise called of the ancients, Mada-

gascar, he discovered to ye harbor named the River of ye Infant. After that since the yeere of our Lord God, 1497. and before the ful accomplishment of the yeere of Christ, 1510. through the travailes and discoveries of Vasques de Gama, Peter Alvares, Thomas Lopes, Andrew Corsale, John de Empoli, Peter Sintra, Sancho de Toar, and that noble and worthy gentleman Alonzo de Albuquerque, they did discover, people, and plant at Ceffala, being upon the East side of Africa, in the twenty degrees of latitude of the south Pole, and direct West from the Iland of S. Laurence (at which port of Ceffala, divers doe affirme that king Salomon did fetch his gold) as also upon the said East side of Africa, they did afterward discover, people, and plant at Mozambique, Quiola, Monbaza, and Melinde, two degrees of Southerly latitude, and so up to the streight of Babel-Mandell at the entring of the red sea, all upon the East coast of Africa, from whence they put off at the Cape of Guarda Fu, and past the great gulfe of Arabia, and the Indian Sea East to Sinus Persicus, and the Island of Ormus, and so passing the large and great river Indus, where he hath his fall into the maine Ocean, in 23. degrees and an halfe, under the tropike of Cancer, of Septentrionall latitude, they made their course againe directly towards the South, and began to discover, people, and plant upon the West side of the hither India at Goa, Mangalor, Cananor, Calecut and Cochin, and the Island of Zeilam.

Ceffala accomted to be the place where the noble and wise king Salomon did fetch his gold.

And here I thinke good to remember to you, that after their planting upon this coast, their forces grew so great that they were able to compell all the Moores, the subjectes of the mightie Emperour of the Turkes to pay tribute unto them, ever as they passed the gulfe of Arabia, from the port of Mecca in Arabia Fœlix, where Mahomet lieth buried, or any of the other portes of the sayd land, ever as they passed to and from the havens of Cochin, Calecut and Cananor, and by their martiall maner of dicipline practised in those partes, the great

and mightie prince the Sophie Emperour of the Persians, and professed enemie to the Turke, came to the knowledge and use of the Caliver shot, and to enterlace and joyne footemen with his horsemen, sithence which time the Persians have growen to that strength and force, that they have given many mightie and great overthrowes to the Turke, to the great quiet of all Christendome.

And from the Island of Zeilam aforesayd, they also discovered more East in passing the gulfe of Bengala, and so passed the notable and famous river of Ganges, where hee hath his fall into the maine Ocean, under the tropike of Cancer, and to the Cape of Malaca, and unto the great and large Islands of Sumatra, Java major, Java minor, Mindanao, Palobane, Celebes, Gilolo, Tidore, Mathin, Borneo, Machian, Terenate, and all other [III. 181.] the Islands of Molucques and Spiceries, and so East alongst the coasts of Cathaia, to the portes of China, Zaiton and Quinsay, and to the Island of Zipango and Japan, situate in the East, in 37. degrees of Septentrionall latitude and in 195. of longitude. These are their noble and worthie discoveries. Here also is not to bee forgotten, that in the yere of our Lord, 1501. that famous and worthy gentleman Americus Vespucius did discover, people, and plant to their use the holdes and forts which they have in Brasill, of whom (he being but a private gentleman) the whole countrey or firme land of the West Indies, is commonly called and knowen by the name of America.

These are the furthest parts of the world from England. At these Islands hath sir Francis Drake bene, where the fame of the Queenes most excellent Majestie was renowmed.

I doe greatly doubt least I seeme over tedious in the recitall of the particular discoveries and conquests of the East and West Indies, wherein I was the more bold to urge the patience of the Reader, to the end it might most manifestly and at large appeare, to all such as are not acquainted with the histories, how the king of Portugall, whose Countrey for popularity and number of people, is scarce comparable to some three shires of England, and the king of Spaine likewise, whose natural Countrey doth not greatly abound with people, both

which princes by means of their discoveries within lesse then 90. yeeres past, have as it appeareth both mightily and marveilously enlarged their territories and dominions through their owne industrie by the assistance of the omnipotent, whose aid we shall not need to doubt, seeing the cause and quarell which we take in hand tendeth to his honour and glory, by the enlargement of the Christian faith.

To conclude, since by Christian dutie we stand bound chiefly to further all such acts as do tend to the encreasing the true flock of Christ by reducing into the right way those lost sheepe which are yet astray: And that we shall therein follow the example of our right vertuous predecessors of renowmed memorie, and leave unto our posteritie a divine memoriall of so godly an enterprise: Let us I say for the considerations alledged, enter into judgement with our selves, whether this action may belong to us or no, the rather for that this voyage through the mighty assistance of the omnipotent God, shall take our desired effect (whereof there is no just cause of doubt.) Then shal her Majesties dominions be enlarged, her highnesse ancient titles justly confirmed, all odious idlenesse from this our Realme utterly banished, divers decayed townes repaired, and many poore and needy persons relieved, and estates of such as now live in want shall be embettered, the ignorant and barbarous idolaters taught to know Christ, the innocent defended from their bloodie tyrannicall neighbours, the diabolicall custome of sacrificing humane creatures abolished.

All which (no man doubteth) are things gratefull in the sight of our Saviour Christ, and tending to the honour and glory of the Trinitie. Bee of good cheere therefore, for hee that cannot erre hath sayd: That before the ende of the world, his word shall bee preached to all nations. Which good worke I trust is reserved for our nation to accomplish in these parts: Wherefore my deere countreymen, be not dismayed:

for the power of God is nothing diminished, nor the love that he hath to the preaching and planting of the Gospell any whit abated. Shall wee then doubt he will be lesse ready most mightily and miraculously to assist our nation in this quarell, which is chiefly and principally undertaken for the enlargement of the Christian faith abroad, and the banishment of idlenes at home, then he was to Columbus, Vasques, Nunnes, Hernando Cortes, and Francis Pizarro in the West: and Vasques de Gama, Peter Alvares, & Alonso de Albuquerque in the East? Let us therefore with cheerefull minds and couragious hearts, give the attempt, and leave the sequell to almightie God: for if he be on our part, what forceth it who bee against us? Thus leaving the correction and reformation unto the gentle Reader, whatsoever is in this treatise too much or too little, otherwise unperfect, I take leave, and so end.

A letter of Sir Francis Walsingham to M. Richard Hakluyt then of Christchurch in Oxford, incouraging him in the study of Cosmographie, and of furthering new discoveries, &c.

Understand aswel by a letter I long since received from the Maior of Bristoll, as by conference with Sir George Pekham, that you have endevoured, & given much light for the discovery of the Westerne partes yet unknowen: as your studie in these things is very commendable, so I thanke you much for the same; wishing you do continue your travell in these and like matters, which are like to turne not only to your owne good in private, but to the publike benefite of this Realme. And so I bid you farewell. From the Court the 11. of March. 1582.

Your loving Friend,

Francis Walsingham.

[III. 182.] A letter of Sir Francis Walsingham to Master Thomas Aldworth merchant, and at that time Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, concerning their adventure in the Westerne discoverie.

AFter my heartie commendations, I have for certaine causes deferred the answere of your letter of November last till now, which I hope commeth all in good time. Your good inclination to the Westerne discoverie I cannot but much commend. And for that sir Humfrey Gilbert, as you have heard long since, hath bene preparing into those parts being readie to imbarke within these 10. dayes, who needeth some further supply of shipping then yet he hath, I am of opinion that you shall do well if the ship or 2. barkes you write of, be put in a readinesse to goe alongst with him, or so soone after as you may. I hope this travell wil proove profitable to the Adventurers and generally beneficiall to the whole realme: herein I pray you conferre with these bearers, M. Richard Hackluyt, and M. Thomas Steventon, to whome I referre you: And so bid you heartily farewell. Richmond the 11. of March. 1582.

Your loving Friend,
FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

A LETTER FROM THOMAS ALDWORTH

A.D. 1583.

A letter written from M. Thomas Aldworth merchant and Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, to the right honourable Sir Francis Walsingham principall Secretary to her Majestie, concerning a Westerne voyage intended for the discovery of the coast of America, lying to the Southwest of Cape Briton.

Ight honourable, upon the receit of your letters directed unto me and delivered by the bearers hereof M. Richard Hakluyt and M. Steventon, bearing date the 11. of March, I presently conferred with my friends in private, whom I know most affectionate to this godly enterprise, especially with M. William Salterne deputie of our company of merchants: whereupon my selfe being as then sicke, with as convenient speede as he could, hee caused an assembly of the merchants to be gathered: where after dutifull mention of your honourable disposition for the benefite of this citie, he by my appointment caused your letters being directed unto me privatly, to be read in publike, and after some good light given by M. Hakluyt unto them that were ignorant of the Countrey and enterprise, and were desirous to be resolved, the motion grew generally so well to be liked, that there was eftsoones set downe by mens owne hands then present, & apparently knowen by their own speach, and very willing offer, the summe of 1000. markes and upward: which summe if it should not suffice, we doubt not but otherwise to furnish out for this Westerne discovery, a ship of threescore, and a barke of 40. tunne, to bee left in the countrey under the direction and government of your sonne in law M. Carlile, of whom we have heard much good, if it shall stand with your honors good liking and his acceptation. In one of which barks we are also willing to have M. Steventon your honours

messenger, and one well knowen to us, as captains. And here in humble maner, desiring your honour to vouchsafe us of your further direction by a generall letter to my selfe, my brethren, and the rest of the merchants of this city, at your honors best and most convenient leisure, because we meane not to deferre the finall proceeding in this voyage, any further then to the end of April next comming, I cease, beseeching God long to blesse and prosper your honourable estate. Bristoll. March 27. 1583.

A briefe and summary discourse upon the intended voyage to the hithermost parts of America: written by Captaine Carlile in April, 1583. for the better inducement to satisfie such Merchants of the Moscovian companie and others, as in disbursing their money towards the furniture of the present charge, doe demand forthwith a present returne of gaine, albeit their said particular disbursements are required but in very slender summes, the highest being 25. li. the second at 12. li. 10. s. and the lowest at 6. pound five shillings.

Hen the Goldsmith desireth to finde the certaine goodnesse of a piece of golde, which is newly offered unto him, he presently bringeth the same to the Touchstone, where, by comparing the shewe or touch of this new piece with the touch or shew of that which he knoweth of old, he foorthwith is able to judge what the value is of that, which is newly offered unto him. After the example whereof I have thought it good to [III. 183.] make some briefe repetition of the particular estate of many other forren voyages and trades already frequented and knowen unto us, whereby we may be the better

able to conceive and judge what certaine likelihood of good there is to be expected in the voyage, which is presently recommended unto your knowledge and resolution.

Moscovie. And first to lay downe that of Moscovia, whose beginning is yet in the remembrance of many: It is well knowen, that what by the charges of the first discovery, and by the great gifts bestowed on the Emperour and his Nobilitie, togither with the leud dealing of some of their servants, who thought themselves safe enough from orderly punishment, it cost the company above fourescore thousand pounds, before it could be brought to any profitable reckoning. And now that after so long a patience and so great a burthen of expences, the same began to frame to some good course and commoditie: It falleth to very ticklish termes, and to as slender likelihood of any further goodnesse, as any other trade that may be named.

For first the estate of those Countreys and the Emperours dealings, are things more fickle then are by every body understood.

Dutchmen. Next, the Dutchmen are there so crept in as they daily augment their trade thither, which may well confirme that uncertainty of the Emperors disposition to keepe promise with our nation.

Thirdly, the qualitie of the voyage, such as may not be performed but once the yeere.

Fourthly, the charges of all Ambassadours betweene that Prince and her Majesty, are alwayes borne by the merchants stocke.

Denmarke. And lastly, the danger of the king of Denmarke, who besides that presently he is like to enforce a tribute on us, hath likewise an advantage upon the ships in their voyage, either homewards or outwards whensoever he listeth to take the opportunitie.

Easterlings. The badde dealings of the Easterlings are sufficiently knowen to be such towards our merchants of that trade, as they doe not onely offer them many injuries

overlong to bee written, but doe seeke all the meanes they can, to deprive them wholy of their occupying that way: and to the same purpose have of late cleane debarred them their accustomed and ancient priviledges in all their great townes.

Turkie. The traffique into Turkie, besides that by some it is thought a hard point to have so much familiaritie with the professed and obstinate enemie of Christ: It is likewise a voyage which can not be made but at the devotion, and as it were in the danger of many states, who for sundry respects are apt to quarell with us upon sudden occasions, and the presents to be given away in Turkie this yeere, cost little lesse then two thousand pounds.

Levant. As for the trades into all the partes of Italie, it may easily be considered by every one of judgement, that the same stand in the like termes touching the passages, as that of Turkie, and that many times our shippes being taken in the way by the Gallies of Alger, our poore Mariners after the losse of their goods and travell, are set at such excessive ransoms before they can bee freed of their slaverie, as for the most part they are no way able to discharge. As for example, at this instant there are some prisoners, poore ordinarie Mariners, for whose releasing there must be payed two hundred Duckets the man, for some three hundred, yea, foure or five hundred Duckets the man for some of them. And how enviously the Venetians doe already oppose themselves against our frequenting into their parts, may appeare by the late customs which they have imposed as well upon our English merchandize which we bring them, as also upon such their merchandize which we fetch from them.

Barbarie. The trade into Barbarie groweth likewise to worse termes then before times, and when it was at the best, our merchants have bene in danger of all their goods they had there, whensoever it happened the king to die. For untill a new were chosen, the libertie of all disordered persons is such, as they spoile and wrong whom they list, without any redresse at all.

Touching Spaine and Portugall, with whom wee have very great trade, and much the greater, by meanes of their venting a good part of our wares in their Indies, as also of the provision they have from the same, wherewith are made many of our returnes from them againe: It falleth out that twise the yeere ordinarily we send our Fleetes into those parts: So that whensoever the king of Spaine listeth to take the opportunitie, hee may at these seasons deprive us not onely of a great number of our very good ships, but also of our honestest and ablest sort of Mariners that are to bee found in our whole Realme againe, which is a matter of no small consequence: for it is to be noted, that when hee shall take a quarell in hand, though it be but his owne particularly, yet hath he the meanes to put in hazard as well those our shippes which are in his owne Countreys of Spaine and Portugall, as also all others which shall bee bound to any the partes of all Italie or of Turkie either. And further whosoever hee bee that is but meanely affected in Religion, as of necessitie becommeth every ordinarie man and good Christian to be, cannot but be agrieved in his heart to consider, that his children and servants whom hee desireth to have well brought up, are in these trades of Spaine and Portugall, and all Italie, forced to denie their owne profession, and made to acquaint themselves with that which the Parents and Masters doe utterly deny and refuse, yea which many of them doe in their owne hearts abhorre as a detestable and most wicked doctrine.

Spaine. Portugall.

Remember the great arrest of the Hollanders. An. 1598.

[III. 184.]

But who shall looke into the qualitie of this voyage, being directed to the latitude of fortie degrees or thereaboutes, of that hithermost part of America, shal find it hath as many points of good moment belonging unto it, as may almost be wished for.

1 As first it is to be understood, that it is not any long course, for it may be perfourmed too and fro in foure moneths after the first discoverie thereof.

Commodities of this voyage in shortnesse.

2 Secondly, that one wind sufficeth to make the pas-

sage, whereas most of your other voyages of like length, are subject to 3. or 4. winds.

3 Thirdly, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yeere.

4 Fourthly, that the passage is upon the high sea, wherby you are not bound to the knowledge of dangers, on any other coast, more then of that Countrey, and of ours here at home.

5 Fiftly, that those parts of England and Ireland, which lie aptest for the proceeding outward or homeward upon this voyage, are very well stored of goodly harbours.

6 Sixtly, that it is to bee accounted of no danger at all as touching the power of any forreine prince or state, when it is compared with any the best of all other voyages before recited.

7 And to the godly minded, it hath this comfortable commoditie, that in this trade their Factours, bee they their servants or children, shall have no instruction or confessions of Idolatrous Religion enforced upon them, but contrarily shall be at their free libertie of conscience, and shall find the same Religion exercised, which is most agreeable unto their Parents and Masters.

Commodities of the countrey more then those of Moscovie.

As for the merchandising, which is the matter especially looked for, albeit that for the present we are not certainely able to promise any such like quantitie, as is now at the best time of the Moscovian trade brought from thence: So likewise is there not demanded any such proportion of daily expences, as was at the first, and as yet is consumed in that of Moscovia and other.

But when this of America shall have bene haunted and practised thirtie yeeres to an ende, as the other hath bene, I doubt not by Gods grace, that for the tenne shippes that are now commonly employed once the yeere into Moscovia, there shall in this voyage twise tenne be imployed well, twise the yeere at the least. And if for the present time there doe fall out nothing els to bee found then the bare Fishing, yet doubt I not after the first yeeres planting, but by that matter only to serve

halfe a dozen of your best sort of ships, although my supply of people doe not follow me so substantially, as in all reason may be well looked for.

The severall merchandise.

But when it is asked what may be hoped from thence after some yeeres, it is first to be considered, that this situation in fourtie degrees, shall bee very apt to gather the commodities either of those parts which stand to the Southward of it, as also of those which are to the Northward.

In the Northerlie may be expected not onely an especiall good fishing for Salmon, Codde, and Whales, but also any other such commodities, as the Easterne Countreys doe yeeld us now: as Pitch, Tarre, Hempe, and thereof cordage, Masts, Losshe hides, rich Furres, and other such like without being in any sort beholding to a king of Denmarke, or other prince or state that shall be in such sort able to command our shippes at their pleasure, as those doe at this day, by meanes of their strait passages and strong shipping.

As for those partes which lie West and to the Southwardes, it may well bee hoped they will yeeld Wines with a small helpe, since the grapes doe growe there of themselves alreadie very faire and in great abundance. Olives being once planted, will yeelde the like Oyle as Spaine, Province and Italie. The Countrey people being made to know, that for Waxe and honie, we will give them such trifling things as they desire of us, and shewing them once the means how to provide the same, the labour thereof being so light, no doubt but in short time they will earnestly care to have the same in good quantitie for us. Besides, what great likelihoode there is of good meanes to make Salt, which may serve for the fishing of those partes, may well enough appeare unto them, who can judge the qualitie of such places as are required to make the same in.

A lake of salt in Vasques his voyage.

Thus much for the beginning, because they may bee had with an easie kinde of travell: but when it may have pleased God to establish our people there any such time

as they may have planted amongst them in sundry partes of the Countrey, and that by gentle and familiar entreating them, they bee made to see what is better for them then they doe as yet understand of, and that in so many sorts of occasions as were infinite to be set downe: It is to bee [III. 185.] assuredly hoped, that they will daily by little and little forsake their barbarous and savage living, and growe to such order and civilitie with us, as there may be well expected from thence no lesse quantitie and diversitie of merchandize then is now had out of Dutchland, Italie, France or Spaine. And as the bordering neighbours are commonly the aptest to fall out with us, so these parts being somewhat remote, are the liker to take, or give lesse occasion of disquiet. But when it is considered that they are our own kindred, and esteemed our own countrey nation which have the government, meaning by those who shall be there planted, who can looke for any other then the dealing of most loving and most assured friends?

There are further to be considered these two poynts of good importance, concerning the matter of trade. The one is, that by the good prospering of this action, there must of necessitie fall out a very liberall utterance of our English Clothes into a maine Country, described to bee bigger then all Europe, the larger part whereof bending to the Northward, shall have wonderfull great use of our sayde English Clothes, after they shall come once to knowe the commodite thereof. The like will bee also of many other things, over many to bee reckoned, which are made here by our Artificers and labouring people, and of necessitie must bee provided from hence.

The other is, if there be any possible meanes to finde a sea passage or other fresh water course, which may serve in some reasonable and convenient sort, to transport our marchandize into the East Indian Sea, through any of these Northerly partes of America, it shall be soonest and most assuredly perfourmed by these who shall inhabite and first grow into familiaritie with the Inland people.

What Minerall matter may fall out to bee found, is a thing left in suspence, untill some better knowledge, because there be many men, who having long since expected some profits herein, upon the great promises that have bene made them, and being as yet in no point satisfied, doe thereupon conceive that they be but wordes purposely cast out for the inducing of men to bee the more ready and willing to furnish their money towards the charge of the first discoverie.

Objection.

But nowe to answere some others who begin with an other objection, saying: That it is not for the Marchants purse to continue the charges of transporting and planting: and that since these hundred men which are nowe to bee planted, will cost foure thousand pound: It is then to bee thought, that the charge of a farre greater number, will bee also a farre greater summe of money.

Answere.

Whereunto I answere, that in all attemptes unknowen, especially such a one as this is, wherewith wee are presently in hand, the first charges are commonly adventured in more desperate kinde, then those that followe upon some better knowledge: and therewith it falleth out, that whereas one adventureth in the first enterprise, an hundred for that one will of themselves bee willing and desirous to adventure in the next, if there bee never so little more appearance, that the intended matter is by some knowledge of our owne, found true in some poynts of our first presumption.

The ewer of metal brought by M. Frobisher, caused two severall supplies, the two yeeres next following; whereof the latter was of thirteene tall ships.

The examples are many, and may easily bee remembred by those who be Marchants, even in their ordinarie and dayly trades, as well as in extraordinarie attempts, which of late yeeres have fallen into those termes of some likelyhood, as is aforesayde. So then no doubt, but when certaine reports shall bee brought by them who directly come from thence, that such a Countrey and people they have themselves seene, as is by us spoken of, but that then there will come forwarde a greater number of those, who nowe neither have heard any thing of the matter, as also of others, who presently make such

frivolous scruple, and will not otherwise be satisfied, then by the report of Saint Thomas. I speake not this by the Marchants whom for their freedoms of trade I would not have pressed to any further charge then this first preparation, but rather by such as have great affection to hazard the changing of their estates, and would be well content to goe in the voyage if they might onely be assured that there is such a Countrey, & that their money should not be wasted to nothing in the preparations.

The right examination of this point must bee the contrary sequell of the common Proverbe that is used, Nothing venture, nothing have: so on the other side by venturing, many great good profites are found out, to the wonderfull benefite of the Common weale, and to those especially in private, who take on them the hazard of their life and travell, or substance in the first attempts: and therefore I would wish that they, who (God be thanked) are well able to spare that which is required of each one towardes the undertaking of this adventure, be well content and willing to imploy the same, since the sequell in good and substantiall reason doth promise, not onely a great commoditie in particular to the Marchant, who shall here [III. 186.] at home exercise the trade of Marchandise: but also to an infinite number of other, who presently live in poore estate, and may by taking the opportunitie of this discoverie, alter the same to a far better degree. Wherefore to make some conclusion upon this point of the Marchants misdoubt, who suspecteth lest this first disbursement without returne of present gaine, should not be all his charge, but that afterwards he might yet further be urged to continue the like again, as hath happened in the discovery of the Moscovian trade: It may suffice to consider, that this is not an action which concerneth onely the Marchants particularly, but a great deale more the generall sort of people throughout all England: And that when such relation shall be returned, as that it may bee found a matter worthy the following, the whole generalitie will not refuse to contribute towards the furtherance

thereof, rather then it should sinke for want of any reasonable supply.

But as it is a very little time, since I have beene throughly resolved to trie my fortune in the matter, so it is more then time the preparation were in hand already, and therefore no fit time now to make any number of ignorant men to understand with reason the circumstance that belongeth to a matter of so great consideration and importance.

To those who have any forward mindes in well doing to the generalitie of mankind, I say thus much more, that Christian charitie doth as greatly perswade the furtherance of this action, as any other that may be layed before us, in as much as thereby wee shall not onely doe a most excellent worke, in respect of reducing the savage people to Christianitie and civilitie, but also in respect of our poore sorte of people, which are very many amongst us, living altogether unprofitable, and often times to the great disquiet of the better sort. For who knoweth not, how by the long peace, happie health, and blessed plentifulnesse, wherewith God hath endued this Realme, that the people is so mightily encreased, as a great number being brought up, during their youth in their parents houses, without any instruction how to get their livings after their parents decease, are driven to some necessitie, whereby very often for want of better education they fall into sundry disorders, and so the good sort of people, as I sayde before, are by them ordinarily troubled, and themselves led on to one shamefull ende or other, whereas if there might bee found some such kinde of imployment as this would be, no doubt but a greater part of them would be withheld from falling into such vile deedes: and in steade thereof, proove greatly serviceable in those affaires, where they might be so imployed.

Master Carliles owne experience.

This I speake of mine owne experience, having seene divers come over to the warres of the lowe Countreys during my residence in the same, who here had beene very evill and idle livers, and by some little continuance with

us, have growen to be very industrious in their facultie, which I can assure you, was a more painefull maner of living then in this action is like to fall out, and withall to a purpose of farre lesse value, in respect of their particular recompence, then with an assured kind of good hope is looked for in this.

Thus you see in every point that may bee wished for in a good action and voyage, there is matter and reason enough to satisfie the well disposed. But nowe to growe somewhat neerer the quicke, and to shewe you some greater appearance, then hath beene yet spoken of touching the trade which is the onely subject wherewith I doe meane to intermeddle at this time, because my addresse hereby is chiefly to men of such like facultie: you may understande by that which followeth, the circumstance of a little discourse, which doeth concerne these matters very directly.

In the yeere 1534. James Carthier, of S. Malo made his first discoverie of those partes of America, which lie to the Westwardes, and as it were on the backeside of Newfoundland. In which voyage his principall intention was to seeke out the passage, which hee presumed might have beene found out into the East Indian Sea, otherwise called the passage to Cathaya, but this yere he went no higher then the Island of the Assumption in the great bay of S. Laurence, and so returned backe into France.

The next yeere following hee went with greater provision into the Grand bay againe, where he keping the Northerly shoare, ran up the great River that comes downe from Canada and other places, untill at last with his small pinnesses, (having left his great shipping by the way) he arrived at Hochelaga towne, being three hundreth leagues within the entrance of the Grand bay. In which travaile he had spent so much of the yeere, that it was nowe the moneth of October, and therefore thought it convenient, for the better enforming himselfe at large in this discoverie, to winter it out in those partes, which he did at a place called by himselfe Holy Crosse.

CARLEVM Gallus. CARLEVM Sarmata laudat
Virtutesque viriis Belgica terra probat

This winter fell out to bee a very long and hard winter, as many times the like happeneth with us in these partes, and the savage people, who for the most part make but a slender kinde of provision, even as it were from hande to mouth, fell into some scarcitie of victuals; yet did they not refuse to serve the Frenchmen, with any thing [III. 187.] they had all the winter long, albeit at somewhat higher prices towardes the ende when the neede was most, as with our selves the like happeneth at such times.

But when the French had their wants served all the yeere, and that as yet they sawe not any appearance of their intended matter, which was the discoverie of the passage, and yet imagining by the signes wherewith the willing people endevoured to declare their knowledge in that poynt, that some good matter might bee had from them, if they might have beene well understoode, they resoulved with themselves to take some of the sufficientest men of that countrey home into France, and there to keepe them so long, as that having once atchieved the French tongue, they might declare more substantially their minde, and knowledge in the sayde passage, concluding this to be the meane of least charge, of least travaile, and of least hazard.

And when they came to bethinke themselves, who might bee meetest for it, they determined to take the King, as the person who might bee best infourmed of such partes as were somewhat remote from his owne Countrey, as also that for the respect of him, the people would bee alwayes readie, and content to doe them any further service, when it should happen them to returne thither againe about the discoverie.

Thus the poore king of the Countrey, with two or three others of his chiefe companions comming aboorde the French shippes, being required thither to a banquet, was traiterously caryed away into France, where hee lived foure yeeres, and then dyed a Christian there, as Thevet the French Kings Cosmographer doeth make mention. This outrage and injurious dealing did put the whole

Countrey people into such dislike with the French, as never since they would admit any conversation or familiaritie with them, untill of late yeeres, the olde matter beginning to grow out of minde, and being the rather drawen on by gifts of many trifling things, which were of great value with them, they are as (I sayde) within these two or three yeeres content againe to admit a traffique, which two yeeres since was begunne with a small barke of thirtie tunnes, whose returne was found so profitable, as the next yeere following, being the last yeere, by those Marchants, who meant to have kept the trade secret unto themselves, from any others of their owne Countrey men, there was hired a shippe of fourescore tunnes out of the Isle of Jersey, but not any one Mariner of that place, saving a shipboy. This shippe made her returne in such sorte, as that this yeere they have multiplyed three shippes, to wit, one of nine score tunnes, another of an hundreth tunnes, and a third of foure score tunnes: which report is given by very substantiall and honest men of Plimmouth, who sawe the sayd shippes in readinesse to depart on their voyage, and were aboord of some of them.

The Frenchmens trade renewed in Canada, in the yeere 1581.

Here is at this instant in the towne a man of Gernesey, Lewis de Vike, who reporteth to have credibly heard, that by this last yeeres voyage the Frenchmen got foureteene or fifteene hundreth for every one hundreth: But how soever it be, it carrieth good likelyhood of some notable profite, in asmuch as they doe so greatly, and thus suddenly encrease the burthen and number of their ships this present yeere.

Nowe, if in so little as two yeeres time this voyage of the Northerne partes bee growen to such good passe as hath beene declared unto you: it is worth the thinking on to consider what may be hoped for from the Southerne part, which in all reason may promise a great deale more. And so, as one who was never touched with any indirect meaning, I presume to wish and perswade you to some better taking of this matter to heart, as a thing which I

The South part best for inhabiting and traffique.

do verely thinke will turne to your greater and more assured commodity, then you receive by any other voyage, as yet frequented of so short and safe a course as this hath: dealing herein no otherwise with you for your severall small summes, then I doe with my selfe, both for more of mine owne, then is required of any one of you: besides the hazard and travaile of my person, and the totall imployment of my poore credit, which (I thanke God) hath hitherto passed cleare and unspotted in matters of greater importance and difficultie, then is like to fall out in this matter betweene you and me.

Articles set downe by the Committies appointed in the behalfe of the Companie of Moscovian Marchants, to conferre with M. Carlile, upon his intended discoverie and attempt into the hithermost parts of America. [III. 188.]

The names of the Committies.

Master Alderman Hart.
Master Alderman Spencer.
Master Hoddesden.
Master William Burrough.
Master Slany.
Master Towerson.
Master Staper.
Master John Castelin.
Master Leake.

FIrst the Committies are well perswaded, that the Countrey whereunto this action is intended, is very fruitfull, inhabited with savage people of a milde and tractable disposition. And that of all other places which are unfrequented at this day, it is the onely most fit and most commodious for us to intermeddle withall.

The convenientest maner of attempting this enterprise is thought to bee thus: That there should be one hundreth men conveyed thither to remaine there one whole yeere: who with friendly intreatie of the people,

may enter into better knowledge of the particular estate of the Countrey, and thereby gather what commoditie may be hereafter, or presently looked for.

The furnishing foorth of 100. men for one yeere will cost 4000. li.

The charge to transport these hundreth men, to victuall them, and to furnish them of munition and other needefull things, will not be lesse then foure thousand poundes: whereof hath bene very readily offered by the Citie of Bristoll one thousand poundes, the residue being three thousande poundes, remaineth to bee furnished by this Citie of London, or any others who will adventure their money in this first preparation.

The Committies thinke it convenient that a Privilege should be procured by Master Carlile from her Majesty, by vertue whereof these conditions and Articles following may be effectually provided for.

First, that they who shall disbursse their money for the first preparation, shall be named Adventurers, and shall have the one halfe of all such landes, territories, townes, mines of gold and silver, and other metals whatsoever, as shall bee found, gotten, obtained, as conquered by this discovery: yeelding to her Majestie the fift part of all such gold and silver, as shall happen to be had out of any mines that so shall be found.

That those parties which doe employ themselves personally in the present discoverie, shall be named Enterprisers, and shall have the other halfe of all the Lands, Territories, Townes, Mines of Gold and Silver, and other mettals, yeelding to her Majestie the fift part of the Gold and Silver, as the Adventurers do: The same to bee distributed by the Generall, with the consent of the greatest part of twelve discreete persons to bee chosen out of the whole number of the Enterprisers.

Also, that all trade of Marchandise which shall bee used to and from those partes, which by this discoverie shall bee found out, shall appertaine onely to the Adventurers which first shall disbursse their money for this discovery, with prohibition to all other her Majesties subjects, and other Marchants to deale in the sayd parts,

without the consent of the first Adventurers, upon losse of shippe and goods, and punishment of their persons, that so shall adventure in trade of marchandise: or otherwise by imprisonment at the Companies pleasure.

That no person shall hereafter adventure in this discoverie as Adventurers for the profits mentioned in the first Articles, but such onely as doe disbursse their money in this first preparation: and they shall not adventure hereafter any greater summe, then ratably according to their proportion of this their first adventure.

Also, the profite which by this discoverie shall be attained unto, either by lande which may bee conquered, or otherwise gotten: as also such profite which by this discoverie shall bee obtained by mines, or otherwise gotten, that eche one shall have his part rate and rate like, according to the proportion of their first adventure, and not otherwise.

The Adventurers in this first preparation shall, at their owne free will and libertie, choose whether they will supply hereafter any further charge or not: if there doe fall out any such occasion to require the same. And yet withall shall for ever holde to them the freedome of the trade which shall growe in any of these partes: [III. 189.] notwithstanding their sayd refusall to beare any further charge.

That in the Patent which is to bee obteined, be graunted, that all her Majesties subjects may transport themselves thither that shall be contented to goe. And that the Patentee or his assignes may shippe thither from time to time, so many and such persons, men, women, and children, as they shall thinke meete. And the same persons to inhabite or remaine there at their pleasure, any lawe to the contrary notwithstanding, with expresse prohibition, as is mentioned in the third article, against all others, which shall go thither without the licence of the patentee or his assignes first obteined.

That it shall not be lawful for any of her Majesties subjects, or any other to inhabite or traffique within

one hundred leagues any way of the place, where the Generall shall have setled his chiefest being or residence.

A relation of the first voyage and discoverie of the Isle Ramea, made by for Monsieur de La court Pre Ravillon, and Grand Pre, with the ship called the Bonaventure, to kill and make Traine oyle of the beasts called the Morses with great teeth, which we have perfourmed by Gods helpe this yeere 1591.

1591.

The fleete of Canada.

FOr the performance of our said voyage, we departed from S. Malo with the fleete that went for Canada, and kept companie with the ships called The Soudil and the Charles halfe the way, and then lost them; a violent wind arising at Northwest, which separated us.

Cape Rase. After which we had faire wether, and came to the coast of Cape Rase, & had no further knowledge thereof, because the winde was at the Southwest but a scarce gale: and we came to the sounding Southwest

The Isles of S. Peter. of the Isles of S. Peter about 10. leagues, where we found 20. fathoms water, and we sayled Northwest one quarter of the North, and came within 12. leagues of Cape de Rey.

Cape de Rey. The next day being the 6. of May 1591, we were come to Cape de Rey, & saw a ship Southwest off us, and stayed there that night.

The Isles of Aponas. The next day being the seventh of the sayd moneth, we came to the Isles of Aponas, where we put foorth our boat, because we had not past 8. leagues to our haven, which we kenned very clearly, although the coasts lay very low: and because the night approched, and the wind grew very high, we sought not to seeke our port, because it is very hard to find it when the wind is lofty, because of the shoalds that are about it.

And we thought to keepe our course untill the next morning between the Isle of Brion & the Isle of Aponas. But there arose so great a tempest at the Southwest, that without the helpe of God we had bene in great danger among these Isles. And we traversed up and downe eleven dayes, making our prayers unto God to ende the tempest and to send us faire weather, that we might obteine our haven: which of his goodnesse he gave us. The last of May we ranged the Isle Ramea on the Northnorthwest side, unto the contrary part of the land, where it trendeth to the Southsoutheast: and seeing no land on the West side, wee ranged the sayd land to the East one quarter to the North at the least 15. leagues, and being from the shore some eight leagues, we found 15 fathoms water, and passed betweene the Isle of Duoron and the Isle of Ramea, where goeth a chanell of 3. leagues bredth; in the midst whereof you shall have 7. 8. and 9. fathoms water. And the lowe poynt of the Isle Ramea, and the Isle Duoron lie Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest. And take heede you come not neere the low point of the Isle Ramea by a great league, for I have sounded it at 3. fathoms water. The Isle is marked. And the harbour of the Isle Ramea lyeth Northeast and Southwest, one quarter to the East and West. And if you would enter the sayd harbour, keepe you a league off the shoare: for often times there is great danger.

The Isle of Brion.

The Isle of Ramea.

The Isle of Duoron.

And that you may know the sayd haven, to the Eastnortheast of the sayde Isle there are high lands appearing to them that are without on all sides like a number of Islands, but in very deede they are all firme land: and if you come on the South and Southwest side, you shall see a hill divided into 3. parts, which I called The three hillockes, which is right within the haven. And for another better marke of the sayd harbour, you shall see an Isle like unto a Floure de lice, distant from the sayd haven 6. leagues at the least: and this Isle and the sayd haven lie Northeast and Southwest,

The markes of the harbour of the Isle Ramea.

An Isle like a Floure de lice.

a quarter to the North and South. And on the sayd Isle there is good pebble stone to drie fish upon: But to the west thereof there is a very faire countrey: and there is a banke of sand, which runneth the length of a cable, having not past one fathom water upon it. From the sayd Isle along the firme land the coast lyeth East and West, and you shall see as it were a great forrest running eastward: and the Easterne Cape is called Cape du Chapt, and is great and red toward the Sea. And betweene the sayd lands you shall see as it were a small Island, but it joyneth to the firme land on the Southwest part: and there is good shingle to drie fish on. And you must coast the shore with boates and not with ships, by reason of the shallowes of the sayd coast. For I have seene without Cape du Chapt in faire weather the ground in two fathoms water, neere a league and an halfe from shore, and I judged by reason of the highnesse of the land, that there had bene above thirtie fathoms water, which was nothing so: and I have sounded comming neere the shore, in more or lesse depth. The coast stretcheth three leagues to the West from Lisle Blanch, or the white Isle, unto the entrance of a river, where we slewe and killed to the number of fifteene hundred Morses or Sea oxen, accounting small and great, where at full sea you may come on shoare with boates, and within are two or three fathoms water. From thence the coast trendeth foure leagues to the West $\frac{1}{4}$ to the Northwest unto the Isle Hupp, which is twentie leagues in circuit, and is like the edge of a knife: upon it there is neither wood nor grasse: there are Morses upon it, but they bee hard to be taken. From thence the coast trendeth to the Northwest and Northnorthwest; which is all that I have seene, to wit, the two sides and one ende of the Isle. And if I had had as good lucke as my Masters, when I was on the Northwest side with my shippe, I would have adventured to have sayled South-southeast, to have discovered the Easterne shoare of the sayd Isle.

A banke of sand.

[III. 190.]

Cape du Chapt.

The maine a shold coast.

Lisle Blanche.

The place where they killed 1500. *Morses.*

The Isle Hupp.

In your returne to the East, as you come from the haven of Cape du Chapt unto the sayde haven, are sandes and sholds. And three good leagues from Cape du Chapt there is a small Island conteining about a league of ground: where there is an haven toward the Southeast: and as you enter into the sayd haven on the starreboord side, a dented Cape all of redde land. And you cannot enter into the said haven but with the flood, because of a barre which lieth halfe a league without the poynts of the sayd haven. The tydes are there at Southeast and Northwest; but when the wind is very great, it bloweth much into the haven at halfe flood. But ordinarily it floweth five foote and an halfe. The markes to enter into the sayd haven are to leave the Isle Blanche or White Island at your comming in on the starreboord; and the poynt of the haven towarde the West hath a thick Island, which you shall see on the other side, and it hath a little round Buttresse, which lyeth on the East side of the Island. There are also two other buttresses more easie to bee seene then hidden: these are not to the East but to the West, and they have markes on them. Here you shall not have above two fathom and an halfe at a full sea upon this barre. And the sounding is stone and rough ground. At your entring in, when you shall finde white sand which lyeth next the Southeast of the Cape, then you are upon the barre: and bee not afrayd to passe up the chanell. And for markes towarde the West athwart the barre, when you have brought an Island even, which lyeth to the westward without, with the thicke part of the high land which lyeth most to the West, you shall bee past the barre: and the chanell runneth due North. And for your anchoring in the sayd haven, see that you carefully seeke the middest of the sayd Thicke land, which lyeth in the bottome of the sayd haven: for you must anchor betweene two bankes of sand, where the passage is but narrow. And you must anker surely: for there goeth

Sands and sholds.

A smal Island conteining a league of ground.

A hard haven.

Markes to come into the haven.

The Barre.

The best anchorage.

a great tyde: for the Sea runneth there as swiftly and more then in . There is good ground and ankorage here: and you shall ride in three fathom water. And within the sayde haven there is nothing to hurt you, for you are free from all winds. And if by chance you should be driven Westward of the sayd haven, you may seeke an entrance, which is right over against the small Island named before, which is called The Isle of Cormorants; and you may enter in there as at the other haven at a full sea: And you must passe upon the West side, and you shall finde on the Barre at a full sea fourteene foote water, and great depth when you are entred in: for the Sea runneth very swiftly in that place: and the entrie thereof lyeth Southeast and Northwest.

Another entrance.

The Isle of Cormorants.

Right over against you on the other side, you may passe with boates at a full sea. And all these entrances make all but one haven, which is good within. I say this, because I have passed into the maine Sea by the one and the other passage. And the said Isle is not past two leagues over in the middest. It is but two bankes of sande, whereof one is like to that of S. Malo, which let the Sea from passing through the middest of all the Isle: But the two endes are high mountaines with Islands altogether cut and separated with streames and rivers.

To anker in the sayd harbour, you must not ride farther then five or sixe cables length from the sayd haven.

A letter sent to the right Honorable Sir William Cecill Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurer of England &c. From M. Thomas James of Bristoll, concerning the discoverie of the Isle of Ramea, dated the 14 of September. 1591. [III. 191.]

Ight Honourable, my humble duetie to your good Lordship done, I thought good humbly to advertise your honour of the discovery of an Island made by two smal shippes of Saint Malo; the one 8 daies past being prised neare Silley, by a ship of which I am part owner, called the Pleasure, sent by this citie to my Lord Thomas Howard, for her Majesties service. Which prise is sent backe to this Port by those of the sayd shippes, with upwards of fortie tunnes of Traine. The Island lyeth in 47. degrees, some fiftie leagues from the grand Bay, neere Newfoundland: and is about twentie leagues about, and some part of the Island is flat Sands and shoulde: and the fish commeth on banke (to do their kinde) in April May & June, by numbers of thousands, which fish is very big: and hath two great teeth: and the skinne of them is like Buffes leather: and they will not away from their yong ones. The yong ones are as good meat as Veale. And with the bellies of five of the saide fishes they make a hogshead of Traine, which Traine is very sweet, which if it will make sope, the king of Spaine may burne some of his Olive trees. Humbly praying your Lordship to pardon herein my boldnes, betaking your Honour to the keeping of the Almightie. From Bristoll, this 14 of September. 1591.

Your Honours most humbly at commandement.

THOMAS JAMES.

[A briefe

A briefe note of the Morsse and the use thereof.

IN the first voyage of Jaques Carthier, wherein he discovered the Gulfe of S. Laurence and the said Isle of Ramea, in the yeere 1534, as you may reade in pag. 205 of this present volume, he met with these beasts, as he witnesseth in these words. About the said Island are very great beasts as great as oxen, which have two great teeth in their mouthes like unto Elephants teeth, and live also in the sea. Wee sawe one of them sleeping upon the banke of the water, and thinking to take it, we went to it with our boates, but so soone as he heard us, he cast himselfe into the sea. Touching these beasts which Jaques Carthier saith to be as big as Oxen and to have teeth in their mouthes like Elephants teeth: True it is that they are called in Latin Boves Marini, or Vaccæ Marinæ, & in the Russian tongue Morsses, the hides whereof I have seene as big as any Oxe hide, and being dressed I have yet a piece of one thicker then any two Oxe or Buls hides in England. The Leatherdressers take them to be excellent good to make light targets against the arrowes of the Savages; and I hold them farre better then the light leather targets which the Moores use in Barbarie against arrowes and lances, whereof I have seene divers in her Majesties stately Armorie in the towre of London. The teeth of the sayd fishes, whereof I have seene a dryfat full at once, are a foote and some times more in length: & have bene sold in England to the combe & knife-makers, at 8 groats and 3 shillings the pound weight, whereas the best Ivory is sold for halfe the money: the graine of the bone is somewhat more yellow then the Ivorie. One M. Alexander Woodson of Bristoll my old friend, an excellent Mathematician and skilful Phisition, shewed me one of these beasts teeth which were brought from the Isle of Ramea in the first prize, which was half a yard long or very litle lesse: and assured mee that he

had made tryall of it in ministring medicine to his patients, and had found it as soveraigne against poyson as any Unicornes horne.

The voyage of the ship called the Marigold of M. Hill of Redrife unto Cape Briton and beyond to the latitude of 44 degrees and an half, 1593 Written by Richard fisher Master Hilles man of Redriffe.

THe ship called the Marigold of 70 tunnes in burthen furnished with 20 men, wherof 10 were Mariners, the Masters name being Richard Strong of Apsham, the Masters mate Peter Langworth of Apsham, with 3 coopers, 2 butchers to flea the Morsses or sea Oxen (whereof divers have teeth above a cubit long & skinnes farre thicker then any buls hide) with other necessary people, departed out of Falmouth the 1 of June 1593 in consort of another ship of M. Drakes of Apsham, which upon some occasion was not ready so soone as shee should have bene by two moneths. The place for which these two ships were bound was an Island within the streightes of Saint Peter on the backe side of Newfoundland to the Southwest in the latitude of fortie seven degrees, called by the Britons of Saint Malo the Isle of Ramea, but by the Savages and naturals of the Continent next adjoyning, Menquit: On which Isle are so great abundance of the huge and mightie Sea Oxen with great teeth in the moneths of April, May and June, that there have bene fifteene hundreth killed there by one small barke, in the yeere 1591. The two English shipps aforesayde, lost companie before they came to Newfoundland: and never came after together in all their voyage.

The voyage of M. Drake of Apsham to Ramea.

[III. 192.] *The Isle of Ramea, or Menquit.*

The ship of M. George Drake fell first with Newfoundland, and afterward very directly came to the Isle

Ramea, though too late in the yeere to make her voyage: where shee found a shippe of Saint Malo three parts fraighted with these fishes: the men whereof enquiring whence our shippe was and who was the Master thereof, being answered that shee was belonging to Master George Drake of Apsham, fearing to bee taken as good prize being of a Leaguer towne, and at that time out of league with England, fled so hastily that present night that they left three and twentie men and three Shallops behinde them, all which our men seazed upon and brought away as good prises home.

Here our men tooke certaine Sea-oxen, but nothing such numbers as they might have had, if they had come in due season, which they had neglected. The shippe called the Marigolde fell with Cape Saint Francis in Newfoundland the eleventh of Julie, and from thence wee went into the Bay Rogneuse, and afterward doubled Cape Razo, and sayling toward the straight of Saint Peter (which is the entrance betweene Newfoundland and Cape Briton,) being unacquainted with the place, beate up and downe a very long time, and yet missed it, and at length over shot it, and fell with Cape Briton.

The English men land upon Cape Briton.

Here diverse of our men went on land upon the very Cape, where, at their arrivall they found the spittes of Oke of the Savages which had roasted meate a litle before. And as they viewed the countrey they sawe divers beastes and foules, as blacke Foxes, Deere, Otters, great Foules with redde legges, Pengwyns, and certaine others. But having found no people here at this our first landing wee went againe on shipboorde, and sayled farther foure leagues to the West of Cape Briton, where wee sawe many Seales. And here having neede of fresh water we went againe on shore. And passing somewhat more into the land, wee founde certaine round pondes artificially made by the Savages to keepe fish in, with certaine weares in them made to take fish. To these pondes wee repayred to fill our caske with water. Wee had not bene

They goe on shore in another place.

long here, but there came one Savage with blacke long hayre hanging about his shoulders who called unto us, weaving his handes downewarde towardes his bellie, using these wordes, Calitogh Calitogh: as wee drewe towardes him one of our mens musket unawares shot off: whereupon hee fell downe, and rising up suddenly againe hee cryed thrise with a loude voyce Chiogh, Chiogh, Chiogh. Thereupon nine or tenne of his fellowes running right up over the bushes with great agilitie and swiftnesse came towardes us with white staves in their handes like halfe pikes, and their dogges of colour blacke not so bigge as a greyhounde followed them at the heeles; but wee retired unto our boate without any hurt at all received. Howbeit one of them brake an hogshead which wee had filled with fresh water, with a great branche of a tree which lay on the ground. Upon which occasion we bestowed halfe a dousen muskets shotte upon them, which they avoyded by falling flatte to the earth, and afterwarde retired themselves to the woodes. One of the Savages, which seemed to bee their Captaine, ware a long mantle of beastes skinnes hanging on one of his shoulders. The rest were all naked except their privities, which were covered with a skinne tyed behinde. After they had escaped our shotte they made a great fire on the shore, belike to give their fellowes warning of us.

The people of the countrey came downe to our men.

Blacke dogs.

The kindes of trees that wee noted to bee here, were goodly Okes, Firre trees of a great height, a kinde of tree called of us Quickbeame, and Cherie trees, and diverse other kindes to us unknowne, because wee stayed not long with diligence to observe them: and there is great shewe of rosen, pitch, and tarre. Wee found in both the places where wee went on land abundance of Raspeses, Strawberies, Hurtes, and herbes of good smell, and divers good for the skurvie, and grasse very ranke and of great length. Wee sawe five or sixe boates sayling to the Southwestwardes of Cape Briton, which wee judged to bee Christians, which had some trade that way. Wee sawe also, while wee were on shore, the manner of their

A secret trade to the South-west of Cape Briton.

hanging up of their fish and flesh with withes to dry in the ayre: they also lay them upon raftes and hurdles and make a smoake under them, or a softe fire, and so drie them as the Savages use to doe in Virginia.

Soundings to the South and Southwestward of Cape Briton.

While wee lay foure leagues South of Cape Briton wee sounded and had sixtie fathomes black ozie ground. And sayling thence Westwarde nine or ten leagues off the shore, we had twenty foure fathomes redde sande, and small whitish stones. Wee continued our course so farre to the Southwest, that wee brought our selves into the latitude of fourtie foure degrees and an half, having sayled fiftie or sixtie leagues to the Southwest of Cape Briton. We found the current betwene this Cape Briton and Cape Rey to set out toward the Eastsoutheast. In our course to the West of Cape Briton we saw exceeding great store of seales, and abundance of Porposes, whereof we killed eleven. We sawe Whales also of all sortes aswell small as great: and here our men tooke many berded Coddes with one teate underneath, which are like to the Northeast Cods, and better then those of Newfoundland.

[III. 193.]

They sayle 50 or 60 leagues to the South:

West of Cape Briton. Great store of Seales, Porposes, Whales and Cods.

They continue on the coast from Cape Briton Westwards full eleven weekes.

From our arrivall at the haven of Saint Francis in Newfoundland, (which was as is aforesayde the eleventh of July) we continued beating up and downe on the coast of Arambec to the West and Southwest of Cape Briton untill the twentie eight of September, fully by the space of eleven weekes: and then by the perswasion of our Master and certaine others wee shaped our course homeward by the Isles of the Açores, and came first to Corvo and Flores, where beating up and downe, and missing of expected pray, we sayled by Tercera, and from thence to Saint Michael, where we sought to boorde a Portugall shippe, which we found too well appointed for us to bring along with us, and so being forced to leave them behinde and having wasted all our victuals, wee were constrained against our willes to hasten home unto our narrowe Seas: but it was the two and twentieth of December before wee could

get into the Downes: where for lacke of winde wee kept our Christmas with dry breade onely for dropping of our clothes. One thing very strange hapened in this voyage: to witte, that a mightie great Whale followed our shippe by the space of many dayes as we passed by Cape Razo, which by no meanes wee coulde chase from our ship, untill one of our men fell overboord and was drowned, after which time shee immediatly forsooke us, and never afterward appeared unto us.

An huge Whale pursued their ship by the space of many dayes, till one of their men fell overboord.

A briefe note concerning the voyage of M. George Drake of Apsham to Isle of Ramea in the aforesayd yere 1593.

IN the beginning of the former relation written by Richard Fisher servant to the worshipfull Master Hill of Redriffe is, as you reade, a briefe reporte of their loosing of their consort the shippe of Master George Drake of Apsham: which though shee came directly to the Isle of Ramea, yet because shee was not ready so soone by two moneths as she ought to have bene, she was not onely the hinderance of her consort the Marigolde, & lost the season of the yere for the making of her voyage of killing the Morses or Sea Oxen, which are to be taken in Aprill, May, and June: but also suffered the fit places and harboroughs in the Isle which are but two, as farre as I can learne, to be forestalled and taken up by the Britons of Saint Malo and the Baskes of Saint John de Luz, by comming a day after the Fayre, as wee say. Which lingering improvidence of our men hath bene the overthrowe of many a worthy enterprize and of the undertakers of the same.

The relation of this voyage at large I was promised by the Authour himselfe: but the same not comming to my handes in tyme I am constrained to leave it out. The want whereof, for the better understanding of the state of the sayde Island, the frequenting of that gainefull trade by the aforesayd nations of the Britons and Baskes, may in part be supplyed by the voyage of Master Charles

Leigh to the sayde Island of Ramea: which also comming much too late thither, as Master George Drake had done, was wholly prevented and shutte out to his and his friendes no small detriment and mischiefe, and to the discouraging of others hereafter in the sayd gainefull and profitable trade.

Neverthelesse albeit hitherto the successe hath not answered our expectation through our owne default, as is abovesaid, yet I was very willing to set downe in briefe and homely stile some mention of these three voyages of our owne men. The first of M. George Drake, the second of M. Silvester Wyet, the third of M. Charles Leigh, because they are the first, for ought that hitherto is come to my knowledge, of our own Nation, that have conducted English ships so farre within this gulfe of S. Laurence, and have brought us true relation of the manifold gaine which the French, Britaynes, Baskes, and Biskaines do yerely returne from the sayd partes; while wee this long time have stood still and have bene idle lookers on, making courtisie who should give the first adventure, or once being given, who should continue or prosecute the same.

[III. 194.] The voyage of the Grace of Bristol of M. Rice Jones, a Barke of thirty five Tunnes, up into the Bay of Saint Laurence to the Northwest of Newefoundland, as farre as the Isle of Assumption or Natiscotec, for the barbes or fynnes of Whales and traine Oyle, made by Silvester Wyet, Shipmaster of Bristoll.

WEe departed with the aforesaid Barke manned with twelve men for the place aforesaid from Bristoll the 4 of Aprill 1594. and fell with Cape d'Espere on the coast of Newefoundland the nineteneth of May in the height of 47. We went thence for Cape Raz, being distant from thence 18 or 19 leagues, the very same day.

The 20. day we were thwart of Cape Raz. *Cape Raz.*

Then we set our course Northwest for Cape S. Marie, which is distant from Cape Raz 19 leagues, and is on the Eastside of the great Bay of Placentia almost at the entrie thereof. *Cape S. Marie.*

From thence we shaped our course for the Islands of S. Pedro passing by the broken Islands of the Martyers: and when we were thwart of the said Isles of the Martyers our course to the Isles of S. Pedro was West and by North. In these Isles of S. Pedro there is a faire harbour, which we went into with our barke, and found there 2 ships of Sibiburo fishing for Cod: where we stayed 2 dayes, and tooke in balest for our ship. There are as faire and tall firre trees growing therein, as in any other part of Newfoundland. Then wee departed thence, and as we came out of the harbours mouth we laid the ship upon the lee, and in 2 houres space we tooke with our hookes 3 or 4 hundred great Cods for our provision of our ship. Then we departed from the Isle of S. Pedro to enter into the gulffe of S. Laurence betwene Cape Briton and the said Isle, and set our course West North West, and fel with Cape de Rey which wee found to be distant from the Isles of S. Pedro 42 leagues. From Cape de Rey to Cape de Angullie we set our course Northnorthwest being distant thence 12 or 13 leagues. From the Cape de Angullie into the Bay of S. George we ran Northeast and by East some 18 or 19 leagues. *The Islands of the Martyers.* *The Isles of S. Peter.* *Cape de Rey.* *Cape de Angullie.* *The bay of Saint George.*

In this bay of Saint George, we found the wrackes of 2 great Biskaine ships, which had bene cast away three yeeres before: where we had some seven or eight hundred Whale finnes, and some yron bolts and chaines of their mayne shrouds & fore shroudes: al their traine was beaten out with the weather but the caske remained still. Some part of the commodities were spoiled by tumbling downe of the clifts of the hils, which covered part of the caske, and the greater part of those Whale finnes, which we understood to be there by foure Spaniards which escaped, & were brought to S. John de Luz. Here we

found the houses of the Savages, made of firre trees bound together in the top and set round like a Dove-house, and covered with the barkes of firre trees, wee found also some part of their victuals, which were Deeres flesh roasted upon wooden spits at the fire, & a dish made of a ryne of a tree, sowed together with the sinowes of the Deere, wherein was oile of the Deere. There were also foules called Cormorants, which they had pluckt and made ready to have dressed, and there we found a wooden spoone of their making. And we discerned the tracks of the feete of some fortie or fiftie men, women and children.

When we had dispatched our businesse in this bay of S. George and stayed there ten dayes, wee departed for the Northren point of the said bay, which is nine or ten leagues broade. Then being enformed, that the Whales which are deadly wounded in the grand Bay, and yet escape the fisher for a time, are woont usually to shoot themselves on shore on the Isle of Assumption, or Natiscotec, which lieth in the very mouth of the great river that runneth up to Canada, we shaped our course over to that long Isle of Natiscotec, and wee found the distance of the way to the Estermost ende thereof to be about forty foure leagues: and it standeth in the latitude of 49. Here we arrived about the middest of June at the East end, and rode in eighteene fadome water in faire white sand and very good ankerage, and for tryall heaved a lyne overboorde and found wonderfull faire and great Cod fish: we went also seven of us on shore and found there exceeding fayre great woods of tall firre trees, and heard and sawe store of land and sea foules, and sawe the footing of divers beastes in the sand when we were on shore. From the Easter end we went to the Norther side of the Island, which we perceived to be but narrow in respect of the length thereof. And after wee had searched two dayes and a night for the Whales which were wounded which we hoped to have found there, and missed of our purpose, we returned backe to the South-

They land on the Isle of Natiscotec.

warde, and were within one league of the Island of Penguin, which lyeth South from the Eastermost part of Natiscotec some twelve leagues. From the Isle of Penguin wee shaped our course for Cape de Rey and had sight of the Island of Cape Briton: then returned wee by the Isles of Saint Pedro, and so came into the Bay of Placentia, and arrived in the Easterside thereof some ten leagues up within the Bay among the fishermen of Saint [III. 195.] John de Luz and of Sibiburo and of Biskay, which were to the number of threescore and odde sayles, whereof eight shippes onely were Spaniardes, of whom we were very well used and they wished heartily for peace betweene them and us. There the men of Saint John and Sibiburo men bestowed two pinnesses on us to make up our voyage with fish. Then wee departed over to the other side of the Bay, where we arrived in an harbour which is called Pesmarck, and there made our stage and fished so long, that in the ende the Savages came, and in the night, when our men were at rest, cut both our pinnesse and our shippes boate away to our great hinderance of our voyage, yet it was our good fortune to finde out our pinnesses and get them againe. Then for feare of a shrewder turne of the Savages, we departed for Cape Saint Marie, and having passed Cape Raz, we passed Northwarde fourteene leagues and arrived in Farrillon, and finding there two and twentie sayles of Englishmen, wee made up our fishing voyage to the full in that harborough the twentieth foure of August to our good content: and departing thence we arrived first in Combe and staied there a seven night, and afterward in Hungrod in the river of Bristoll by the grace of God the 24 of September. 1594.

[The voyage

The voyage of M. Charles Leigh, and divers others to Cape Briton and the Isle of Ramea.

THe Hopewell of London of the burthen of 120 tunnes, whereof was M. William Crafton, and the Chancewel of London of the burthen of 70 tunnes, wherof was M. Steven Bennet, bound unto the river of Canada, set to sea at the sole and proper charge of Charles Leigh and Abraham Van Herwick of London merchants (the saide Charles Leigh himselfe, and Steven Van Herwick brother to the sayd Abraham, going themselves in the said ships as chiefe commanders of the voyage) departed from Graves-end on Fryday morning the 8 of April 1597. And after some hindrances, arriving at Falmouth in Cornewal the 28 of the said moneth put to sea againe. And with prosperous windes the 18 of May we were upon the banke of Newfoundland. The 19 we lost the Chancewel. The 20 we had sight of land and entred within the bay of Assumption, where our men contrary to my knowledge fought with a French ship: and afterward in the same bay wee met with our consort. Whereupon we presently put to sea againe: and the next day we arrived at Caplen bay, where we remained by extremitie of foule weather, and to mend a pinnes of 7 or 8 tunnes (which was given us at Farrillon by M. Wil. Sayer of Dartmouth the Admiral of that place) untill the last of May. On which day departing from thence in the afternoone we put in to Rogneuse to seeke Shallops but could find none. The first of June we set saile from Rogneuse, and the second we put roome to a bay under the North-side of Cape Raz being inforced in by an extreme storme. The 4 we set saile, and this day we saw a great Island of yce. The 5 at night we lost the Chancewell in a fog at the mouth of the bay of Placentia. The 11 at Sunne setting we had sight of Cape Briton. And the 12 by

reason of contrary windes we cast anker under the North-east ende of the Isle of Menego to the North of Cape Briton in 16 fathome reasonable ground. In that place we caught great store of Cods, which were larger and better fish then any in Newfoundland. The 13 wee weyed anker againe, and being becalmed about a league from the shore we fell to fishing where the Cods did bite at least 20 fathomes above ground, and almost as fast as we could hale them into the ship. The 14 we came to the 2 Islands of Birds, some 23 leagues from Menego: where there were such abundance of Birds, as is almost incredible to report. And upon the lesse of these Islands of Birds, we saw great store of Morsses or Sea Oxen, which were a sleepe upon the rockes: but when we approched nere unto them with our boate they cast themselves into the sea and pursued us with such furie as that we were glad to flee from them. The 16 we arrived at Brians Island, which lyeth 5 leagues West from the Island of Birds. About this Island ther is as great aboundance of cods as in any place can be found. In litle more then an houre we caught with 4 hookes 250 of them. Here we caught also a great Turbut which was an elle long and a yard broad: which was so great that the hooke could not hold her into the ship: but when she was above water she bent the hooke & escaped. In this Island we found exceeding good ground both for corne and meadow, & great store of wood, but of smal groweth. Springes of fresh water we found none in all the Island, but some standing pooles of raine water. The same day at night we weyed anker againe. The 17 we had stormy weather. The 18 we came to the Isle of Ramea, where we appointed to meet with our consort. And approching neere unto the harborough of Halabolina we cast anker in 3 fadomes water and sent our great boate into the harborough, with the masters mate and some dozen more of the company: who when they came in, found 4 ships. Namely 2 of Saint Malo in Britaigne, and two of Sibiburo adjoyning to Saint John de luz being the French

The Isle of Menego.

The 2 Islands of Birdes.

Store of Morsses.

In Bryans Island excellent ground for corne and medow.

The Isle of Ramea.

[III. 196.] Kings subjects, whom they supposed to have bene of Spaine, and so affirmed unto us. Whereupon wee went presently into harborough, finding but eleven foote and an halfe of water upon the barre and a mightie great current in, when wee had cast anker we sent presently to speake with the masters of all the ships: but those onely of Saint Malo came aboord, whom wee entertained very friendly, and demaunded of whence the other two shippes were. They sayde as they thought of Saint John de Luz or Sibiburo. Then we presently sent our boate for the Masters of both the sayd shippes, to request them to come aboord, and to bring with them their Charters parties and other evidences, to the ende we might knowe of whence they were. At which message one of the sayde Masters came aboord, with the Pilote and Masters mate of the other shippe: whom when we had examined, they sayd that they were of Sibiburo, and the French Kings subjectes. We requested them for our better securitie in the harborough peaceably to deliver up their powder and munition: promising them that if we found them to be the French Kings subjectes it shoulde be kept in safetie for them without diminishing. But they woulde not consent thereunto: whereunto we replyed, that unlesse they would consent thereunto we would hold them to be our enemies. They not consenting, we sent the boate well manned to fetch their powder and munition from aboorde their ship: but straightly commanded our men not to touch any thing else in the ship upon their further perill: which they promised to performe. When they came aboorde the saide ships which were mored together, they were resisted by force of armes, but quickly they got the victorie: which done, they fell presently to pillaging of the Baskes, contrary to their promise: whereupon we sent another to forbidde them; but when he came to them, none was more ready of pillage then he. Whereupon I went my selfe, and tooke away from our men whatsoever they had pillaged, and gave it againe to the owners: onely I sent aboord our owne ship their powder

and munition to be kept in safetie until we knew farther what they were. When I had done, I gave the Baskes possession of their shippe againe and tolde them they should not loose the valewe of one peny if they were the French Kings subjects. Then I caryed away all our men, and also tooke with me two or three of the chiefest of them, and when I came aboord went to examining of them, and by circumstances found one of the ships to belong to France: whereupon I tolde the master of the said ship, that I was throughly satisfied that he was of France and so dismissed him in peace. Of the other ship we had great presumption that she was of Spaine, but had no certaine proofe thereof, wherefore wee dismissed them likewise in peace. After I had thus dismissed them, our ships company fell into a mutiny, and more then half of them resolved to cary one of those ships away. But they were prevented of their evill purpose by ayde which the saide ships received from their countreymen in the other harborough: For the next morning, which was the twentieth of June, very earely there were gathered together out of all the ships in both harboroughs, at the least 200 Frenchmen and Britons, who had planted upon the shore three pieces of Ordinance against us, and had prepared them selves in al readinesse to fight with us, which so soone as we had discried them gave the onset upon us with at least an hundred small shot out of the woods. There were also in a readines to assault us about three hundred Savages. But after we had skirmished a while with them, we procured a parley by one of the men of Saint Malo, whose ship rowed hard by us: In which parley they required some of our men to come on shore unto them: whereupon wee requested M. Ralph Hill and the Boatswaines mate to go on shore to them: whom when they had they detained as prisoners; and then required the powder and munition, which we had of the Baskes in possession; which we surrendred unto them in safetie as our intent alwayes was, which done, there came aboord unto us one Captaine Charles, who was

Another harborough in Ramea.

A skirmish betweene the French men and us.

A new treason of the Britons.

captaine of the great ship of Saint Malo, which rode in the other harborough: who challenged our great boate which we had at Farrillon to be his. And while we were in talke with him about the two Baskes which at first we thought to be Spaniards, wee had almost bene betraied. For the said Captaine Charles with halfe a dozen more of his company kept themselves aboord of our ship and held us in a talke, while thirtie or fortie others should have entred our ship unawares from one of the ships of S. Malo, which professed to be our friend, & unto whom we shewed all courtesie. But we perceiving their treacherous intent, threatned to set fire on the said ship, which was then thwart our hawse, from which they would have entred. By which resolution of ours God did discourage them from effecting their mischievous purposes. Now the said captaine Charles when he saw himself prevented of his wicked intents, took his boat presently to go on shore, and promised that all things should be ended in peace betweene us, and that he would send us our two men againe. But when he was on shore he presently sent for our great boat which he claimed to be his, & withall commanded us out of the harborough; but he sent not our men as he promised, we being now the weaker side did not only deliver his boat but also determined to be gon and then requested them to help us with [III. 197.] our anker which was on shore; but they would not. Then we desired them to cut the bent of the cable upon the anker on shore (for we durst not send our boat lest they should have kept from us both our boat and men) which they promised to do for us, as also to send our men; but when they were on shore, they would do neither. We therefore seeing their falshood in every thing, durst no longer tary for feare of farther treachery; wherefore we concluded to cut our cable in the hawse; which we did, & so departed the harborow about 9 of the clock, leaving two of our men with our cable & anker, and 20 fadoms of a new hawser behind us. And as we were going away, they made great shewes of friendship,

and dranke unto us from the shore; but more for feare then love, and requested us to come on shore for our men, whom then they delivered. The same morning in passing over the barre before the harborowes mouth, and by that time that we had all our men aboord, our ship came on ground upon the sands; where we lay some 8 houres: during which time, at low water we trimmed our ship without boord, and by the great providence of God found our leake which then we stopped. About six of the clocke at night we got our ship on float againe, and that night ankered within part of the barre, which then because of the wind we could not passe. But it pleased God to send us faire weather all that night, and the next day by noone we had gotten our ship cleane over the bar. The 21 day after we got over the barre the wind arose at east & eastsoutheast, we blew right into the bay: which if it had come before we were cleere of the bar, we had both ship and men perished in the sands. The same day, because the wind kept us within the bay, we went to the Isle Blanch, where the ships of the other harborow had their stages: but it was at least two leagues from their ships: where we hoped by friendship to procure a shallope & assurance of our cable and anker againe. But when we had approched nere the shore with our ship, & weaved them with a white flag, they in sted of comming unto us, sent their message by a bullet out of a piece of great ordinance, which they had placed on shore of purpose against us; so that they would neither speake with us, nor permit us to come nere them. Thus we departed, and would have put to sea that night: but there was much wind at East, which kept us within the bay, & inforced us to come to an anker under Isle Blanch. The next morning being the 22, we put to sea, and about 12 of the clocke the same day, the wind being at Northeast and foule weather, the master sayd he could not ply up to Grande Coste, because of the leeshore, & the wind against us, and therefore asked what we should do. I asked then how farre we had to the river of cape

The bar of the haven of Ramea.

They depart from Ramea.

Isle Blanch or the White Isle.

The river of Cape Briton.

Briton: he sayd a little way. Then sayd I, If it be not farre, we were best to go thither to trade with the Savages while the wind is contrary, and to take in water & balist, which we wanted. To which the master sayd, that if I would he would cary us thither. I thinking it to be the best course, sayd I was content, so farre forth as that from thence we tooke the first faire wind for Grande Coste. Hereupon the master willed him at the helme to keepe his course southeast and southeast and by south. Presently after I asked him how many leagues we had to the sayd river, and from the sayd river to Grande Coste. He then sayd that we had 40 leagues to the river, and from the river to Grande Coste 120 leagues. Hereupon I said I would not consent to go so far out of our way, but willed him to keep his directest course for Grande Coste; which he did. Within one halfe houre afterwards the 23 day the gunner and company of the ship presented me & the master with a request in writing to returne for England or to goe for the Islands of Açores for a man of war, for they would not proceed on their voyage to Grande Coste; and therefore do what I could they turned the helme homewards. The 14 of June we sent our boat on shore in a great bay upon the Isle of Cape Briton for water. The 25 we arrived on the West side of the Isle of Menego, where we left some caske on shore in a sandy bay, but could not tary for foule weather. The 26 we cast anker in another bay upon the maine of Cape Briton. The 27 about tenne of the clocke in the morning we met with eight men of the Chancewell our consort in a shallope; who told us that their ship was cast away upon the maine of Cape Briton, within a great bay eighteene leagues within the Cape, and upon a rocke within a mile of the shore, upon the 23 of this moneth about one of the clocke in the afternoone: and that they had cleered their ship from the rocke: but being bilged and full of water, they presently did run her up into a

Their arrivall in the Isle of Cape Briton.

The Chancewel cast away 18 leagues within Cape Briton.

sandy bay, where she was no sooner come on ground, but presently after there came aboord many shallops with store of French men, who robbed and spoiled all they could lay hands on, pillaging the poore men even to their very shirts, and using them in savage maner: whereas they should rather as Christians have aided them in that distresse. Which newes when we heard, we blessed God, who by his divine providence and unspeakeable mercy had not onely preserved all the men, but brought us thither so miraculously to ayd and comfort them. So presently we put into the road where the Chancewell lay; where was also one ship of Sibiburo, whose men that holpe to pillage the Chancewell were runne away into the woods. But the master thereof which had dealt very honestly with our men stayed in his ship, and came aboord of us: whom we used well, not taking any thing from him that was his, but onely such things as we could finde of our owne. And when we had dispatched our businesse, we gave him one good cable, one olde cable and an anker, one shallop with mast, sailes, and other furniture, and other things which belonged to the ship. In recompense whereof he gave us two hogsheads of sider, one barrell of peaze, and 25 score of fish. The 29 betimes in the morning we departed from that road toward a great Biskaine some 7 leagues off of 300 tun, whose men dealt most doggedly with the Chancewels company. The same night we ankered at the mouth of the harborow, where the Biskain was. The 30 betimes in the morning we put into the harborow; and approching nere their stage, we saw it uncovered, and so suspected the ship to be gone: whereupon we sent our pinnesse on shore with a dozen men, who when they came, found great store of fish on shore, but all the men were fled: neither could they perceive whether the ship should be gone, but as they thought to sea. This day about twelve of the clocke we tooke a Savages boat which our men pursued: but all the Savages ran away into the

Woods on the Isle of Cape Briton. [III. 198.]

woods, and our men brought their boat on boord. The same day in the afternoone we brought our ship to an anker in the harborow: and the same day we tooke three hogsheads and an halfe of traine, and some 300 of greene fish. Also in the evening three of the Savages, whose boat we had, came unto us for their boat; to whom we gave coats and knives, and restored them their boat againe. The next day being the first of July, the rest of the Savages came unto us, among whom was their king, whose name was Itarey, and their queene, to whom also we gave coats and knives, and other trifles. These Savages called the harborow Cibo. In this place are the greatest multitude of lobsters that ever we heard of: for we caught at one hawle with a little draw net above 140. The fourth of July in the morning we departed from Cibo. And the fift we cast anker in a reasonable good harborow called New Port under an Island some eight leagues from Cibo, and within three leagues from the English port. At this place in pursuing certaine shallops of a ship of Rochel, one of them came aboord, who told us, that the Biskainer whom we sought, was in the English port with two Biskainers more, and two ships of Rochel. Thereupon wee sent one of our men in the Rochellers shallop to parle with the admiral & others our friends in the English port, requesting them ayd for the recovery of our things, which the other ship called the Santa Maria of S. Vincent (whereof was Master Johannes de Harte, and Pilot Adame de Lauandote) had robbed from the Chancewell. To which they answered, that if we would come in unto them in peace, they would assist us what they might. This answere we had the sixt day: and the seventh in the fornoone we arrived in the English port, and cast anker aloofe from the other ships: which done, I went aboord the Admirall, to desire the performance of his promise: who sent for Johannes de Harte, who was contented to restore most of our things againe: whereupon I went aboord his ship to have

The Savages of Cape Briton come aboord of our ship.

Cibo an harborow in the Isle of Cape Briton.

New Port.

Port Ingles.

them restored. This day and the eighth I spent in procuring such things as they had robbed; but yet in the end we wanted a great part thereof. Then we were briefe with them, and willed them either to restore us the rest of our things which they had, or els we would both inforce them to doe it, and also have satisfaction for our victuals and merchandises which by their meanes were lost in the Chancewell. The ninth in the morning wee prepared our ship to goe neere unto them. Whereupon their Admirall sent his boat aboord, and desired to speake with mee: then I went aboord unto him, and desired to have our things with peace and quietnesse, proffering to make him and the Masters of the two ships of Rochel our umpires, and what they should advise I would stand unto. Heereupon he went aboord the other ship to make peace; but they would heare no reason, neither yet condescend to restore any thing els which they had of ours. Then I desired that as I came in peace unto them, they would so set me aboord my ship againe: which they denied to doe, but most unjustly detained me and Stephen van Herwicke who was with me. A while after our shallop came with foure men to know how I did, and to fetch me aboord: but so soone as she came to the Admirals ships side, his men entred, and tooke her away, detaining our men also as prisoners with us. Then presently all the three Biskainers made toward our ship, which was not carelesse to get the winde of them all: and having by the mercy of God obtained the same, shee then stayed for them: but when they saw they had lost their advantage, they presently turned their course, making as great haste in againe as they did out before. Afterwards I attempted twise to goe aboord, but was still enforced backe by the two other Biskainers, who sought our lives: so that in the end the Master of the Admirall was inforced to man his great boat to waft us: and yet notwithstanding they bent a piece of great ordinance at us: for we were to passe by them unto our ship: but

we rescued our shallop under our Masters great boat; and by that meanes passed in safety. The next morning being the tenth of the moneth, we purposed if the winde had served our turne, to have made them to repent their evill dealing, and to restore us our owne againe, or els to have suncke their ships if we could. But the winde served not our turne for that purpose; but caried us to sea: so that the same morning wee tooke our course toward the bay of S. Laurence in Newfoundland: where wee hoped to finde a Spanish ship, which as we had intelligence, did fish at that place. The thirteenth day we had sight of S. Peters Islands. And the foureteenth day being foggy and misty weather, while we made towards the land, we sent our shallop before the shippe to discover dangers: but in the fogge, through the mens negligence which were in her, she lost us: yet we kept on our course, thinking that although we could not see them, yet they might see our ship: and comming into sixteene fathoms water we cast anker, supposing our selves to be neere the shore: and in the evening it pleased God to give us for the space of one quarter of an houre clere weather, by which we found our selves to be imbayed, and also had sight of our shallop, which was at the point of a land about one league from us. The same night we went further into the same bay, where we had very good riding. The fifteenth we went on shore, and in that place found footing of deere, and before we returned we killed one. The eighteenth we departed toward S. Laurence: the same evening we had sight of S. Laurence, and sent off our boat in the night with our Master and sixteene men to surprise the Spanyard, which lay in Litle S. Laurence; who presently upon the entrance of our men surrendred up their ship and goods. The nineteenth in the morning before day, the Master of our ship with two more, and three Spanyards, tooke a boat and came foorth to meet our shippe, but being foggy, he cast anker by the mouth of the harborow (thinking in faire weather to put out

[III. 199.]

They departed from Cape Briton.

S. Peters Islands.

A Spanish ship taken.

to our ship, which through the current and foggy weather was put five or sixe leagues to leeward: & while they were at anker in the boat they were surprised again by certaine Basks of S. John de Luz who were in Great S. Laurence hard by. These Basks with their forces (having received intelligence by one of the Spanyards, who sleeping on shore, escaped unto them overland) on the sudden surprised the sayd boat with our Master and others: and then presently made unto the ship; but our men aboord defended them off. In the end they threatned that unlesse they would yeeld, they would kill M. Crafton and our other men before *M. Crafton.* their eyes. So at last upon M. Craftons intreaty and our mens, to save their lives, they yeelded up the ship againe, upon condition, that they should not injury any of our men, but should let them all with their weapons peaceably depart: yet when our men had yeelded, they brake their covenant, profering them great violence, threatning to kill them, disarming them, stripping their clothes from their backs, and using them more like dogs then men. After they had thus robbed our men of their prize and weapons, they presently towed the shippe with their boats out of that harborow into Great S. Laurence, where their owne shippes did ride, and within lesse then an houre after they had caried our prize away, our shippe arrived in the bay: where after we had bene a while at anker, our shallop came aboord unto us, with most part of our sixteene men, who tolde us the whole story before recited, as also that captaine Laurence had caried away our Master, and Stephen van Herwicke prisoners, and turned the rest of our men on shore in the woods, without either meat, drinke, or almost any apparell. The 20 all our men came aboord, except the two prisoners: and the same day we tooke with our boats three of the Spanyards shallops, with five hogs[illegible]ds of traine oile in ech of them, & in one boat foure Spanyards; but the men of the other two shallops fled on shore. The same day also we tooke

the Master of one of the ships which was in the harborow with three other of his men, whom we detained prisoners to ransome M. Crafton & Stephen van Herwick. The 22 captaine Laurence sent them aboord, and we also released all our prisoners, except one Spanyard, who was boatswaine of the Spanish ship, whom we kept with us: and the same day we set saile from thence. The 24 we had advice of our Spanyard of certain Leagers which were in the harborow of cape S. Mary. Whereupon the same night, being within five or six leagues of the harborow, I sent off our two shallops with thirty men to discover the harborow, and to surprise the enemy. The 25 in the morning we approched the harborow with our ship, and in the mouth thereof we espied three shallops, two whereof were ours, and the third of a ship of Rochel, which they had surprised with foure men in her: who told them that there were but two ships in the harborow, whereof one was of Rochel, and the other of Bell isle. And as we were discoursing with the Rochellers, we had sight of the ships: whereupon we sent our boat aboord the Rocheller to certifie him that we were his friends, and to request him not to hinder our fight with the enemy. This message being sent, we made all the haste we could unto the ship of Bell isle, which first began with us with three great shot, one whereof hit our maintopsaile, but both the other missed us. And we also sent one unto them: then being approched nere unto them ten or twelve of us went in a shallop to enter them, and we caried also a warpe with us to make fast unto their ship, whereby our ship might the better come up to ayd us. And when we boorded them in our boat, they betooke themselves to their close fights, playing chiefly upon us with shot & pikes out at two ports, between which we entred very dangerously, escaping neere dangers both by shot & pike. Some of our men were wounded, but no great harme was done. And mine owne piece in entring, was shot out of my hand into

The harborow of Cape S. Marie.

[III. 200.]

A.D. 1597.

the sea; which shot also burst one side of the ladder, by which I entred. We had not long bene aboord, but through the helpe of God we caused them to yeeld unto our mercy. There were of them in the ship above forty men, most whereof we sent aboord of our shippe, there to be kept in holde, with order to our chyrurgion to dresse the wounded men, one of which was wounded unto death. That done, we had then time to view our prize, which we found of great defence, and a notable strong ship, almost two hundred tun in burden, very well appointed, and in all things fitted for a man of warre. They had also foureteene or fifteene men more, which were then absent from the ship; otherwise we should have had the hoter fight. The same day we got our sailes to the yard, and our top masts on end, and rigged the shippe what we could. The 26 day we got some oile aboord, and there we taried untill the second of August, fitting our selves for the sea, and getting fish aboord as weather served us. During our abode there we divided our men, and appointed to ech ship their company, my selfe and my friends being resolved to take our passage in the prize; wherein when we were shipped, and the company, there arose great enmity against us by the other shippe, which afterward was quieted. The second day of August, having taken in water and wood, we put to sea from that harborow in company of the Hopewell, with purpose to go directly to Parlican, which is an harborow in the North part of Newfoundland, where we expected another prize. But when we came to sea we found our sailes so olde, our ropes so rotten, and our provision of bread and drinke so short, as that we were constrained to make our resolution directly for England: whereupon we drew out our reasons the fourth day of August, and sent them aboord the Hopewell, to certifie them the cause of our resolution for England: wherat they were generally offended, thinking and saying, that we in the prize went about to cousin and deceive them. To conclude, they sent us

A Briton ship of 200 tunnes, taken.

word that they would keepe us company for England. But I had given William Crafton commission before to go for the Islands of the Açores, and there to spend his victuals for a man of warre. The next day being the fift of August, having a faire winde, we put off from the coast of Newfoundland, and kept our course directly for England, the Hopewell keeping us company untill midday, whenas having lost us in a fogge, she shot off two pieces of ordinance, and we answered her with three: afterwards we spake not with her, supposing that she went for the Islands. The 27 of August, drawing neere the coast of England, we sounded and found ground at seventy fadoms. Some of the mariners thinking we were in Bristow channell, and other in Silly channell: so that through variety of judgements, and evill marinership we were faine to dance the hay foure dayes together, sometimes running to the Northeast, sometimes to the Southeast, then againe to the East, and Eastnortheast. Thus did we spend faire winds, and lose our time untill the last of August. And then it pleased God that we fell with the Island of Lundy within the channell of Bristoll; from whence we shaped our course: and after divers dangers, the third of September we met with the Tramontane of the Queene off of Dartmouth; to the captaine whereof we gave certaine things that he had need of. The fift of September I landed on the outside of the Isle of Wight, and within few dayes after it pleased God to bring the ship in safety to London, where she was made prize as belonging to the enemies of this land.

Certaine observations touching the countreys and places where we travelled.

THe Newfoundland we found very subject to fogs and mists. The ground of it is very rocky: and upon it there is great store of firre trees, and in some places red; and about the shore it hath great abundance of cod-fish. We were on land in it in

foure severall places: 1 At Caplin bay and Farrillon: 2 At Cape Rase: 3 At the harborow of Lano, which lieth foure leagues to the West beyond Cape Laurence: 4 At S. Marie port.

The Island of Menego for the soile is much like Newfoundland, but the fish about it, as also throwout the Grande Bay within Cape Briton, is much larger and better then that of the Newfoundland. This Island is scant two leagues long, and very narrow. In the midst of it, a great way within the wood is a great poole. Here we were thrise on shore: once at the East side, and twise at the West.

The three Islands of birds are sandy red, but with the multitude of birds upon them they looke white. The birds sit there as thicke as stones lie in a paved street. The greatest of the Islands is about a mile in compasse. [III. 201.] The second is little lesse. The third is a very little one, like a small rocke. At the second of these three lay on the shore in the Sunshine about thirty or forty sea-oxen or morses: which when our boat came nere them, presently made into the sea, and swam after the boat.

Brions Island wee found to be very good, and sandy ground. It hath in it store of firre trees. It is somewhat more then a league long, and about three leagues in compasse. Here we were on land once, and went from the one side of it to the other.

The Island of Ramea we tooke to be like ground as Brions Island, having also abundance of firre trees. It seemeth to be in length about twelve or thirteene leagues at least. We were there in harborow, but not on shore, which we much desired, and hoped to have bene: but the conflict which we had there with the Basks and Britons, mentioned before, prevented us.

The Isle Blanche likewise seemeth in quality of the ground and bignesse of it to be much like Brions Island aforesayd, but somewhat lesse. We were not on shore upon it, but rode before it at anker.

The land of Cape Briton we found to be somewhat like

the Newfoundland, but rather better. Here toward the West end of it we saw the clouds lie lower then the hils: as we did also at Cape Laurence in Newfoundland. The Easterly end of the land of Cape Briton is nothing so high land, as the West. We went on shore upon it in five places: 1 At the bay where the Chancewell was cast away: 2 At Cibo: 3 At a little Island betweene Cibo and the New port: 4 At the New port: And 5 at Port Ingles, or the English port.

Concerning the nature and fruitfulnesse of Brions Island, Isle Blanche, and of Ramea, they do by nature yeeld exceeding plenty of wood, great store of wild corne like barley, strawberries, gooseberries, mulberies, white roses, and store of wilde peason. Also about the sayd Islands the sea yeeldeth great abundance of fish of divers sorts. And the sayd Islands also seeme to proffer, through the labour of man, plenty of all kinde of our graine, of roots, of hempe, and other necessary commodities.

Charles Leigh.

Certaine voyages containing the Discoverie of the Gulfe of Sainct Laurence to the West of Newfoundland, and from thence up the river of Canada, to Hochelaga, Saguenay, and other places: with a description of the temperature of the climate, the disposition of the people, the nature, commodities, and riches of the soile, and other matters of speciall moment.

The first relation of Jaques Carthier of S. Malo, of the new land called New France, newly discovered in the yere of our Lord 1534.

How M. Jaques Carthier departed from the Port of S. Malo, with two ships, and came to Newfoundland, and how he entred into the Port of Buona Vista.

Fter that Sir Charles of Mouy knight lord of Meylleraye, & Viceadmirall of France had caused the Captaines, Masters, and Mariners of the shippes to be sworne to behave themselves truely and faithfully in the service of the most Christian King of France, under the charge of the sayd Carthier, upon the twentieth day of April 1534, we departed from the Port of S. Malo with two ships of threescore tun apiece burden, and 61 well appointed men in ech one: and with such prosperous weather we sailed onwards, that upon the tenth day of May we came to Newfoundland, where we entred into the Cape of Buona Vista, which is in latitude 48 degrees and a halfe, and in longitude * . But because of the great store of the ice that was alongst the sayd land, we were constrained to enter into an haven called S. Katherins haven, distant from the other Port about five leagues toward Southsoutheast: there did we stay tenne dayes looking for faire weather; and in the meane while we mended and dressed our boats.

[III. 202.] How we came to the Island of Birds, and of the great quantity of birds that there be.

The Isle of Birds.

UPon the 21 of May the winde being in the West, we hoised saile, and sailed toward North and by East from the cape of Buona Vista until we came to the Island of Birds, which was environed about with a banke of ice, but broken and crackt: notwithstanding the sayd banke, our two boats went thither to take in some birds, whereof there is such plenty, that unlesse a man did see them, he would thinke it an incredible thing: for albeit the Island (which containeth about a league in circuit) be so full of them, that they seeme to have bene brought thither, and sowed for the nonce, yet are there an hundred folde as many hovering about it as within; some of the which are as big as jayes, blacke and white, with beaks like unto crowes: they lie alwayes upon the sea; they cannot flie very high, because their wings are so little, and no bigger then halfe ones hand, yet do they flie as swiftly as any birds of the aire levell to the water; they are also exceeding fat; we named them Aporath. In lesse then halfe an houre we filled two boats full of them, as if they had bene with stones: so that besides them which we did eat fresh, every ship did powder and salt five or sixe barrels full of them.

Of two sorts of birds, the one called Godetz, the other Margaulx; and how we came to Carpunt.

BEsides these, there is another kinde of birds which hover in the aire, and over the sea, lesser then the others; and these doe all gather themselves together in the Island, and put themselves under the wings of other birds that are greater: these we named Godetz. There are also of another sort, but bigger, and white, which bite even as dogs: those we named Margaulx. And albeit the sayd Island be 14 leagues from the maine land, notwithstanding beares come swimming thither to eat of the sayd birds: and our men found one there as great

A great white beare.

as any cow, and as white as any swan, who in their presence leapt into the sea; and upon Whitsunmunday (following our voyage toward the land) we met her by the way, swimming toward land as swiftly as we could saile. So soone as we saw her, we pursued her with our boats, and by maine strength tooke her, whose flesh was as good to be eaten as the flesh of a calfe of two yeres olde. The Wednesday following, being the 27 of the moneth, we came to the entrance of the bay of the Castles; but because the weather was ill, and the great store of ice we found, we were constrained to enter into an harborow about the sayd entrance called Carpunt, where, because we could not come out of it, we stayed til the ninth of June, what time we departed, hoping with the helpe of God to saile further then the sayd Carpunt, which is in latitude 51 degrees.

Les Chasteaux.

Carpunt.

The description of Newfoundland, from Cape Razo to Cape Degrad.

THe land from Cape Razo to Cape Degrad, which is the point of the entrance of the bay that trendeth from head to head toward Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest. All this part of land is parted into Islands one so nere the other, that there are but small rivers betweene them; thorow the which you may passe with little boats, and therefore there are certaine good harborows, among which are those of Carpunt and Degrad. In one of these Islands that is the highest of them all, being the top of it you may plainly see the two low Islands that are nere to Cape Razo, from whence to the port of Carpunt they count it five and twenty leagues; and there are two entrances thereat, one on the East, the other on the South side of the Island. But you must take heed of the side & point of the East, because that every where there is nothing els but shelves, and the water is very shallow: you must go about the Island toward the West the length of halfe a cable or thereabout, and then to goe toward the South to the sayd Carpunt.

Also you are to take heed of three shelves that are in the chanell under the water: and toward the Island on the East side in the chanell, the water is of three or foure fadome deepe, and cleere ground. The other trendeth toward Eastnortheast, and on the West you may go on shore.

Of the Island which now is called S. Katherins Island.

GOing from the point Degrad, and entring into the sayd bay toward the West & by North: there is some doubt of two Islands that are on the right side, one of the which is distant from the sayd point three leagues, and the other seven, either more or lesse then the first, being a low and plaine land, and it seemeth to be part of the maine land. I named it Saint Katherines Island; in which, toward the Northeast there is very dry soile; but about a quarter of a league from it, very ill ground, so that you must go a little about. The sayd Island & [III. 203.] the Port of Castles trend toward North northeast, and South southwest, and they are about 15. leagues asunder. From the said port of Castles to the port of Gutte, which is in the northerne part of the said Bay, that trendeth toward East northeast, and West southwest, there are 12. leagues and an halfe: and about two leagues from the port of Balances, that is to say, the third part athwart the saide Bay the depth being sounded it is about 38. fadomes: and from the said port of Balances to the white Sands toward West southwest there is 15. leagues, but you must take heede of a shelfe that lyeth about 3. leagues outward from the said white Sands on the Southwest side above water like a boat.

Blanc Sablon, or white Sands.

Of the place called Blanc Sablon, or the white Sand: of the Iland of Brest, and of the Iland of Birds, of the sorts and quantitie of birds that there are found: and of the Port called the Islettes.

WHite Sand is a Road in the which there is no place guarded from the South, nor southeast. But toward South southwest from the saide road there are two

Ilands, one of the which is called Brest Iland, and the other the Iland of Birds, in which there is great store of Godetz, and crowes with red beakes and red feete: they make their nestes in holes under the ground even as Conies. A point of land being passed about a league from white Sand, there is a Port and passage found called the Islettes, a better place then white Sand: and there is great fishing. From the said Port of the Islettes unto another called Brest, the circuit is about ten leagues. This Port is in latitude 51. degrees and 55. minutes, and in longitude*. From the Islettes to that place there are many other Ilands: and the saide Port of Brest is also amongst those Ilands. Moreover the Ilands do compasse more then 3. leagues from the said Brest, being low, and over them are the other lands above mentioned seene.

Brest a place to the North in Newfound land.

How we with our ships entred into the Port of Brest, and sayling onward toward the West we passed amidst the Islettes, which were so many in number, that it was not possible to tell them: and how we named them the Islettes.

UPon the 10. of June wee with our ships entred into the Port of Brest, to furnish our selves with water and wood, and to make us ready to passe the saide Bay. Upon S. Barnabas day Service being heard, we with our boats went beyond the said Port toward the west, to see what harboroughes were there: wee passed through the midst of the Islettes, which were so many in number that it was not possible they might be tolde, for they continued about 10. leagues beyond the said Port. We to rest our selves stayed in one of them a night, and there we found great store of ducke egges, and other birds that there do make their nests, we named them all The Islettes.

[Of the

Of the Port called S. Antonies Port, S. Servans Port, James Cartiers Port: of the river called S. James: of the customes and apparell of the inhabitants in the Iland of White Sand.

THe next day we passed the said Ilands, and beyond them all we found a good haven, which we named S. Antonies Haven, and one or two leagues beyond wee found a little river towarde the Southwest coast, that is betweene two other Ilands, and is a good harborough. There we set up a Crosse, and named it S. Servans Port: and on the Southwest side of the said Port and river, about one league there is a small Iland as round as an Oven, environed about with many other litle Ilands that give notice to the said Ports. Further about two leagues there is another greater river, in which we tooke good store of salmon, that we named S. James his River. Being in the said river, we saw a ship of Rochel that the night before had passed the Port of Brest, where they thought to have gone a fishing: but the Mariners knew not where they were. We with our boats approched neere unto it, and did direct it to another Port one league more toward the West then the said river of S. James, which I take to be one of the best in all the world, and therefore wee named it James Carthiers Sound. If the soile were as good as the harboroughes are, it were a great commoditie: but it is not to be called The new Land, but rather stones and wilde cragges, and a place fit for wilde beastes, for in all the North Iland I did not see a Cart-load of good earth: yet went I on shoare in many places, and in the Iland of White Sand, there is nothing else but mosse and small thornes scattered here and there, withered and dry. To be short, I beleeve that this was the land that God allotted to Caine. There are men of an indifferent good stature and bignesse, but wilde and unruly: they weare their haire tied on the top like a wreath of hay, and put a wooden pinne within it, or any other such thing in stead of a naile, and with them

The river of S. Jaques.

they binde certaine birdes feathers. They are clothed with beastes skinnes as well the men as women, but that the women go somewhat straiter and closer in their garments then the men do, with their wastes girded: they paint themselves with certaine Roan colours: their boates are made of the barke of birch trees, with the which they fish and take great store of Seales, and as farre as we could understand since our comming thither, that is not their habitation, but they come from the maine land out of hotter countreys, to catch the saide Seales and other necessaries for their living. [III. 204.] *Boats made of the barke of Birch trees.*

Of certaine Capes, that is to say, The double Cape, The pointed Cape, Cape Royal, and The Cape of Milke: of the mountaines of Granges: of the Ilands of Dove houses: and of the great fishing of Cods.

UPon the 13. of that moneth we came to our ships againe with our boats on purpose to saile forwards because the weather was faire, and upon Sunday we caused Service to be saide: then on munday being the 15. of the moneth we departed from Brest, and sailed toward the South to take a view of the lands that there wee had seene, that seemed unto us to bee two Ilands: but when we were amidst the Bay, we knew it to be firme land, where was a great double Cape one above the other, and therefore wee named it The double Cape. In the entrance of the Bay wee sounded, and found it to be an hundred fadome round about us. From Brest to The double Cape there is about 20. leagues, and about five or sixe leagues beyond we sounded againe and found 40 fadome water. The said land lieth Northeast and Southwest. The next day being the 16 of the moneth we sailed along the said coast toward the Southwest, and by South about 35 leagues from the double Cape, where we found very steepe and wilde hilles, among the which were seene certaine smal cabbans, which we in the countrey call Granges, and therefore we named them The hilles of the Granges.

The other lands and mountaines are all craggie, cleft and cut, and betwixt them and the Sea, there are other Ilands, but low. The day before through the darke mists and fogges of the weather, we could not have sight of any land, but in the evening we spied an entrance into the land, by a river among the said Hilles of Granges, and a Cape lying toward the Southwest about 3 leagues from us. The said Cape is on the top of it blunt-pointed, and also toward the Sea it endeth in a point, wherefore wee named it The pointed Cape, on the North side of which there is a plaine Iland. And because we would have notice of the said entrance, to see if there were any good havens, we strooke saile for that night. The next day being the 17 of the moneth we had stormie weather from Northeast, wherefore we tooke our way toward the Southwest untill Thursday morning, and we went about 37 leagues, till wee came athwart a Bay full of round Ilands like dove houses, and therefore wee named them The dove houses. And from the Bay of S. Julian, from the which to a Cape that lieth South and by West, which wee called Cape Roial, there are 7. leagues, and toward the West southwest side of the saide Cape, there is another that beneath is all craggie, and above round. On the North side of which about halfe a league there lieth a low Iland: that Cape we named The Cape of milke. Betweene these two Capes there are certaine low Ilands, above which there are also certaine others that shew that there be some rivers. About two leagues from Cape royall wee sounded and found 20 fadome water, and there is the greatest fishing of Cods that possible may be: for staying for our company, in lesse then an houre we tooke above an hundreth of them.

Of certaine Ilands that lie betweene Cape Royal, and The Cape of milke.

THe next day being the 18 of the moneth, the winde with such rage turned against us, that we were constrained to go backe toward Cape Royal, thinking there to finde some harborough, and with our boates went to discover betweene the Cape Royal, and the Cape of Milke, and found that above the low Ilands there is a great and very deepe gulfe, within which are certaine Ilands. The said gulfe on the Southside is shut up. The foresaid low grounds are on one of the sides of the entrance, and Cape Royal is on the other. The saide low grounds doe stretch themselves more then halfe a league within the Sea. It is a plaine countrey, but an ill soile: and in the middest of the entrance thereof, there is an Iland. The saide gulfe in latitude is fourtie eight degrees and an halfe, and in longitude * . That night we found no harborough, and therefore we lanched out into the Sea, leaving the Cape toward the West.

Of the Iland called S. John.

FRom the said day untill the 24 of the moneth being S. Johns day we had both stormie weather and winde against us, with such darkenesse and mistes, that untill S. Johns day, we could have no sight of any land, and then had we sight of a Cape of land, that from Cape Royal lieth Southwest about 35 leagues, but that day was so foggie and mistie, that we could not come neere land, and because it was S. Johns day, we named it Cape S. John.

Of certaine Ilands called the Ilands of Margaulx, and of the kinds of beasts and birds that there are found. Of the Iland of Brion, and Cape Dolphin. [III. 205.]

THe next day being the 25. of the moneth, the weather was also stormie, darke, and windy, but yet we sailed a part of the day toward West North west,

and in the evening wee put our selves athwart untill the second quarter; when as we departed, then did we by our compasse know that we were Northwest & by West about seven leagues and an halfe from the Cape of S. John, and as wee were about to hoise saile, the winde turned into the Northwest, wherefore wee went Southeast, about 15. leagues, and came to three Ilands, two of which are as steepe and upright as any wall, so that it was not possible to climbe them: and betweene them there is a little rocke. These Ilands were as full of birds, as any field or medow is of grasse, which there do make their nestes: and in the greatest of them, there was a great and infinite number of those that wee call Margaulx, that are white, and bigger then any geese, which were severed in one part. In the other were onely Godetz, but toward the shoare there were of those Godetz, and great Apponatz, like to those of that Iland that we above have mentioned: we went downe to the lowest part of the least Iland, where we killed above a thousand of those Godetz, and Apponatz. We put into our boates so many of them as we pleased, for in lesse then one houre we might have filled thirtie such boats of them: we named them The Ilands of Margaulx. About five leagues from the said Ilands on the West, there is another Iland that is about two leagues in length, and so much in breadth: there did we stay all night to take in water and wood. That Iland is environed round about with sand, and hath a very good road about it three or foure fadome deepe. Those Ilands have the best soile that ever we saw, for that one of their fields is more worth then all the New land. We found it all full of goodly trees, medowes, fields full of wild corne and peason bloomed, as thick, as ranke, and as faire as any can be seene in Britaine, so that they seemed to have bene plowed and sowed. There was also a great store of gooseberies, strawberies, damaske roses, parseley, with other very sweete and pleasant hearbes. About the said Iland are very great beastes as great as oxen, which

Three Ilands.

The Islands of Margaulx.

Morses or Sea oxen.

have two great teeth in their mouths like unto Elephants teeth, & live also in the Sea. We saw one of them sleeping upon the banke of the water: wee thinking to take it, went to it with our boates, but so soone as he heard us, he cast himselfe into the Sea. We also saw beares & wolves: we named it Brions Iland. About *Brions Iland.* it toward Southeast, and Northwest, there are great lakes. As farre as I could gather and comprehend, I thinke that there be some passage betweene New found land, and Brions land. If so it were, it would be a great shortning, aswel of the time as of the way, if any perfection could be found in it. About foure leagues from that Iland toward West-Southwest is the firme land, which seemeth to be as an Iland compassed about with litle Ilands of sands. There is a goodly Cape which we named Cape Dolphin, for there is the beginning of good grounds. On the 27. of June we compassed the said lands about that lie West Southwest: and a farre off they seeme to be little hilles of sand, for they are but low landes: wee could neither goe to them, nor land on them, because the winde was against us. That day we went 15 leagues.

Of the Iland called Alezai, and of the cape of S. Peter.

THe next day we went along the said land about 10. leagues, till we came to a Cape of redde land, that is all craggie, within the which there is a bracke looking toward the North. It is a very low countrey. There is also betweene the Sea and a certaine poole, a plaine field: and from that Cape of land and the poole unto another Cape, there are about 14 leagues. The land is fashioned as it were halfe a circle, all compassed about with sand like a ditch, over which as farre as ones eye can stretch, there is nothing but marrish grounds and standing pooles. And before you come to the first Cape, very neere the maine land there are two little Ilands. About five leagues from the second Cape toward the Southwest,

there is another Iland very high and pointed, which we named Alezai. The first Cape we named S. Peters Cape, because upon that day we came thither.

Of the Cape called Cape Orleans: of the River of Boates: of Wilde mens Cape: and of the qualitie and temperature of the countrey.

FRom Brions Iland to this place there is good anckorage of sand, and having sounded toward Southwest even to the shoare about five leagues, wee found twentie and five fadome water, and within one league twelve fadome, and very neere the shoare sixe fadome, rather more then lesse, and also good anckorage. But because wee would bee the better acquainted with this stonie and rockie ground, wee strooke our sailes lowe and athwart. The next day being the last of the moneth save one, the winde blewe South and by East. Wee sailed Westward untill Tuesday morning at Sunne rising, being the last of the moneth, without [III. 206.] any sight or knowledge of any lande except in the evening toward Sunne set, that wee discovered a lande which seemed to be two Ilands, that were beyond us West southwest, about nine or tenne leagues. All the next day till the next morning at Sunne rising wee sailed Westward about fourtie leagues, and by the way we perceived that the land we had seene like Ilands, was firme land, lying South southeast, and North northwest, to a very good Cape of land called Cape Orleans. *An exceeding goodly land.* Al the said land is low and plaine, and the fairest that may possibly be seene, full of goodly medowes and trees. True it is that we could finde no harborough there, because it is all full of shelves and sands. We with our boats went on shore in many places, and among the rest wee entred into a goodly river, but very shallow, which we named The river of boats, because that there wee saw boates full of wild men that were crossing the river. We had no other notice of the said wild men: for the wind came from

the sea, and so beat us against the shore, that wee were constrained to retire our selves with our boates toward our ships. Till the next day morning at Sunne rising, being the first of July, we sailed Northeast, in which time there rose great mistes and stormes, and therefore wee strucke our sailes till two of the clocke in the afternoone, that the weather became cleare, & there we had sight of Cape Orleance, and of another about seven leagues from us, lying North and by East, and that we called Wilde mens Cape. On the North-side of this Cape about halfe a league, there is a very dangerous shelfe, and banke of stones. Whilest wee were at this Cape, we sawe a man running after our boates that were going along the coast, who made signes unto us that we should returne toward the said Cape againe. We seeing such signes, began to turne toward him, but he seeing us come, began to flee: so soone as we were come on shoare, we set a knife before him and a woollen girdle on a litle staffe, and then came to our ships againe. That day we trended the said land about 9. or 10. leagues, hoping to finde some good harborough, but it was not possible: for as I have said already, it is a very low land, and enviroued round about with great shelves. Neverthelesse we went that day on shore in foure places to see the goodly and sweete smelling trees that were there: we found them to be Cedars, ewetrees, Pines, white elmes, ashes, willowes, with many other sorts of trees to us unknowen, but without any fruit. The grounds where no wood is, are very faire, and all full of peason, white and red gooseberies, strawberies, blackeberies, and wilde corne, even like unto Rie, which seemed to have bene sowen and plowed. This countrey is of better temperature then any other that can be seene, and very hote. There are many thrushes, stockdoves, and other birds: to be short, there wanteth nothing but good harboroughs.

Varietie of goodly trees.

[Of the

Of the Bay called S. Lunario, and other notable Bayes and Capes of land, and of the qualitie, and goodnesse of those grounds.

THe next day being the second of July we discovered and had sight of land on the Northerne side toward us, that did joyne unto the land abovesaid, al compassed about, and we knew that it had about * in depth, and as much athwart, we named it S. Lunarios Bay, and with our boats we went to the Cape toward the North, and found the shore so shallow, that for the space of a league from land there was but a fadome water. On the Northeast side from the said Cape about 7. or 8. leagues there is another Cape of land, in the middest whereof there is a Bay fashioned trianglewise, very deepe, & as farre off as we could ken from it the same lieth Northeast. The said Bay is compassed about with sands and shelves about 10. leagues from land, and there is but two fadome water: from the said Cape to the bank of the other, there is about 15. leagues. We being a crosse the said Capes, discovered another land and Cape, and as farre as we could ken, it lay North and by East. All that night the weather was very ill, and great winds, so that wee were constrained to beare a smal saile until the next morning, being the thirde of July when the winde came from the West: and we sailed Northward to have a sight of the land that we had left on the Northeast side, above the low lands, among which high and low lands there is a gulfe or breach in some places about 55. fadome deepe, and 15. leagues in bredth. By reason of the great depth and bredth of the gulfe, and change of the lands, we conceived hope that wee should finde a passage, like unto the passage of The Castles. The said gulfe lieth East Northeast, and West southwest. The ground that lieth on the Southside of the said gulfe, is as good and easie to be manured, and full of as goodly fields and meadowes, as any that ever wee have seene, as

The passage de Chasteaux.

plaine and smooth as any die: and that which lyeth on the North is a countrey altogether hilly, full of woods, and very high and great trees of sundry sorts: among the rest there are as goodly Ceders, and Firre trees, as possibly can be seene, able to make mastes for ships of three hundred Tunne: neither did we see any place that was not full of the saide trees, except two onely that were full of goodly medowes, with two very faire lakes. The middest of the said Bay is 47. degrees and halfe in latitude.

Trees able to mast ships of 300. tunnes.

Of the Cape D'Esperance, or the Cape of Hope, and of S. Martins Creeke, and how 7. boats full of wilde men comming to our boat, would not retire themselves, but being terrified with our Culverins which we shot at them, and our lances, they fled with great hast. [III. 207.]

THe Cape of the said South land was called The Cape of Hope, through the hope that there we had to finde some passage. The fourth of July we went along the coast of the said land on the Northerly side to finde some harborough, where wee entred into a creeke altogether open toward the South, where there is no succour against the wind: we thought good to name it S. Martines Creeke. There we stayed from the fourth of July until the twelfth: while we were there, on Munday being the sixth of the moneth, Service being done, wee with one of our boates went to discover a Cape and point of land that on the Westerne side was about seven or eight leagues from us, to see which way it did bend, and being within halfe a league of it, wee sawe two companies of boates of wilde men going from one land to the other: their boates were in number about fourtie or fiftie. One part of the which came to the said point, and a great number of the men went on shore making a great noise, beckening unto us that wee should come on land, shewing us certaine skinnes upon pieces of wood, but because we

Fortie or 50 boates of Salvages.

had but one onely boat, wee would not goe to them, but went to the other side lying in the Sea: they seeing us flee, prepared two of their boats to follow us, with which came also five more of them that were comming from the Sea side, all which approched neere unto our boate, dancing, and making many signes of joy and mirth, as it were desiring our friendship, saying in their tongue Napeu tondamen assurtah, with many other words that we understood not. But because (as we have said) we had but one boat, wee would not stand to their courtesie, but made signes unto them that they should turne back, which they would not do, but with great furie came toward us: and suddenly with their boates compassed us about: and because they would not away from us by any signes that we could make, we shot off two pieces among them, which did so terrifie them, that they put themselves to flight toward the sayde point, making a great noise: and having staid a while, they began anew, even as at the first to come to us againe, and being come neere our boat wee strucke at them with two lances, which thing was so great a terrour unto them, that with great hast they beganne to flee, and would no more follow us.

How the said wilde men comming to our ships, and our men going toward them, both parties went on land, and how the said wilde men with great joy began to trafique with our men.

THe next day part of the saide wilde men with nine of their boates came to the point and entrance of the Creeke, where we with our ships were at road. We being advertised of their comming, went to the point where they were with our boates: but so soone as they saw us, they began to flee, making signes that they came to trafique with us, shewing us, such skinnes as they cloth themselves withall, which are of small value. We likewise made signes unto them, that we wished them no evill: and in signe thereof two of our men

ventured to go on land to them, and cary them knives with other Iron wares, and a red hat to give unto their Captaine. Which when they saw, they also came on land, and brought some of their skinnes, and so began to deale with us, seeming to be very glad to have our iron wares and other things, stil dancing with many other ceremonies, as with their hands to cast Sea water on their heads. They gave us whatsoever they had, not keeping any thing, so that they were constrained to goe backe againe naked, and made us signes that the next day they would come againe, and bring more skinnes with them.

How that we having sent two of our men on land with wares, there came about 300. wilde men with great gladnesse. Of the qualitie of the countrey, what it bringeth foorth, and of the Bay called Baie du Chaleur, or The Bay of heat.

UPon thursday being the eight of the moneth, because the winde was not good to go out with our ships, we set our boates in a readinesse to goe to discover the said Bay, and that day wee went 25. leagues within it. The next day the wind and weather being faire, we sailed until noone, in which time we had notice of a great part of the said Bay, and how that over the low lands, there were other lands with high mountaines: but seeing that there was no passage at all, wee began to turne back againe, taking our way along the coast: & sayling, we saw certaine wilde men that stood upon the shore of a lake, that is among the low grounds, who were making fires and smokes: wee went thither, & found that there was a chanel of the sea that did enter into the lake, and setting our boats at one of the banks of the chanell, the wilde men with one of their boates came unto us, and brought up pieces of Seales ready sodden, [III. 208.] putting them upon pieces of wood: then retiring themselves, they would make signes unto us, that they did give them us. Wee sent two men unto them with

hatchets, knives, beads, & other such like ware, whereat they were very glad, and by and by in clusters they came to the shore where wee were, with their boates, bringing with them skinnes and other such things as they had, to have of our wares. They were more then 300. men, women and children: some of the women which came not over, wee might see stand up to the knees in water, singing and dancing: the other that had passed the river where we were, came very friendly to us, rubbing our armes with their owne handes, then would they lift them up toward heaven, shewing many signes of gladnesse: and in such wise were wee assured one of another, that we very familiarly began to trafique for whatsoever they had, til they had nothing but their naked bodies; for they gave us all whatsoever they had, and that was but of small value. We perceived that this people might very easily be converted to our Religion. They goe from place to place. They live onely with fishing. They have an ordinarie time to fish for their provision. The countrey is hotter then the countrey of Spaine, and the fairest that can possibly be found, altogether smooth, and level. There is no place be it never so little, but it hath some trees (yea albeit it be sandie) or else is full of wilde corne, that hath an eare like unto Rie: the corne is like oates, and smal peason as thicke as if they had bene sowen and plowed, white and red gooseberies, strawberies, blackberies, white and red Roses, with many other floures of very sweet and pleasant smell. There be also many goodly medowes full of grasse, and lakes wherein great plentie of salmons be. They call a hatchet in their tongue Cochi, and a knife Bacon: we named it The bay of heat.

Three hundred gentle Savages.

Baye du Chaleur, or the Bay of heat.

¶ Of another nation of wilde men: of their maners, living and clothing.

BEing certified that there was no passage through the said Bay, we hoised saile, and went from S. Martines Creeke upon Sunday being the 12. of July, to goe and dis-

cover further beyond the said Bay, and went along the sea coast Eastward about eighteene leagues, till we came to the Cape of Prato, where we found the tide very great, but shallow ground, and the Sea stormie, so that we were constrained to draw toward shore, betweene the said Cape and an Iland lying Eastward, about a league from the said Cape, where we cast ancker for that night. The next morning we hoised saile to trend the said coast about, which lyeth North Northeast. But there rose such a stormie and raging winde against us, that we were constrained to come to the place againe, from whence we were come: there did we stay all that day til the next that we hoised up saile, and came to the middest of a river five or sixe leagues from the Cape of Prato Northward, and being overthwart the said River, there arose againe a contrary winde, with great fogges and stormes. So that we were constrained upon Tuesday being the fourteenth of the moneth to enter into the river, and there did we stay till the sixteenth of the moneth looking for faire weather to come out of it: on which day being Thursday, the winde became so raging that one of our ships lost an ancker, and we were constrained to goe up higher into the river seven or eight leagues, into a good harborough and ground that we with our boates found out, and through the evill weather, tempest, and darkenesse that was, wee stayed in the said harborough till the five and twentieth of the moneth, not being able to put out: in the meane time wee sawe a great multitude of wilde men that were fishing for mackerels, whereof there is great store. Their boates were about 40, and the persons what with men, women & children two hundred, which after they had hanted our company a while, they came very familiarly with their boats to the sides of our ships. We gave them knives, combes, beads of glasse, and other trifles of small value, for which they made many signes of gladnesse, lifting their hands up to heaven dancing and singing in their boates. These men may very well and truely be called Wilde, because there is no poorer people

in the world. For I thinke all that they had together, besides their boates and nets was not worth five souce. They goe altogether naked saving their privities, which are covered with a little skinne, and certaine olde skinnes that they cast upon them. Neither in nature nor in language, doe they any whit agree with them which we found first: their heads be altogether shaven, except one bush of haire which they suffer to grow upon the top of their crowne as long as a horse taile, & then with certaine leather strings binde it in a knot upon their heads. They have no other dwelling but their boates, which they turne upside downe, and under them they lay themselves all along upon the bare ground. They eate their flesh almost raw, save onely that they heate it a little upon imbers of coales, so doe they their fish. Upon Magdalens day we with our boates went to the bancke of the river, and freely went on shore among them, whereat they made many signes, and all their men in two or three companies began to sing and dance, seeming to be very glad of our comming. They had caused all the yong women to flee into the wood, two or three excepted, that [III. 209.] stayed with them, to ech of which we gave a combe, and a little bell made of Tinne, for which they were very glad, thanking our Captaine, rubbing his armes and breasts with their hands. When the men saw us give something unto those that had stayed, it caused al the rest to come out of the wood, to the end they should have as much as the others: These women were about twenty, who altogether in a knot fell upon our Captaine, touching and rubbing him with their hands, according to their maner of cherishing and making much of one, who gave to each of them a little Tinne bell: then suddenly they began to dance, and sing many songs. There we found great store of Mackrels, that they had taken upon the shore, with certaine nets that they make to fish, of a kind of *Hempe.* Hempe that groweth in that place where ordinarily they abide, for they never come to the sea, but onely in fishing time. As farre as I understand, there groweth likewise a

kinde of Millet as big as Peason, like unto that which groweth in Bresil, which they eate in stead of bread. They had great store of it. They call it in their tongue Kapaige. They have also Prunes (that is to say Damsins) which they dry for winter as we doe, they call them Honesta. They have also Figs, Nuts, Apples, and other fruits, and Beans, that they call Sahu, their nuts Cahehya. If we shewed them any thing that they have not, nor know not what it is, shaking their heads, they will say Nohda, which is as much to say, they have it not, nor they know it not. Of those things they have, they would with signes shew us how to dresse them, and how they grow. They eate nothing that hath any taste of salt. They are very great theeves, for they will filch and steale whatsoever they can lay hold of, and all is fish that commeth to net.

Maiz.

Damsins, figs, nuts, apples.

¶ How our men set up a great Crosse upon the point of the sayd Porte, and the Captaine of those wild men, after a long Oration, was by our Captain appeased, and contented that two of his Children should goe with him.

UPon the 24 of the moneth, wee caused a faire high Crosse to be made of the height of thirty foote, which was made in the presence of many of them, upon the point of the entrance of the sayd haven, in the middest whereof we hanged up a Shield with three Floure de Luces in it, and in the top was carved in the wood with Anticke letters this posie, Vive le Roy de France. Then before them all we set it upon the sayd point. They with great heed beheld both the making and setting of it up. So soone as it was up, we altogether kneeled downe before them, with our hands toward Heaven, yeelding God thankes: and we made signes unto them, shewing them the Heavens, and that all our salvation dependeth onely on him which in them dwelleth: whereat they shewed a great admiration, looking first one at another, and then upon

This haven seemeth to be Gaspay.

the Crosse. And after wee were returned to our ships, their Captaine clad with an old Beares skin, with three of his sonnes, and a brother of his with him, came unto us in one of their boates, but they came not so neere us as they were wont to doe: there he made a long Oration unto us, shewing us the crosse we had set up, and making a crosse with two fingers, then did he shew us all the Countrey about us, as if he would say that all was his, and that wee should not set up any crosse without his leave. His talke being ended, we shewed him an Axe, faining that we would give it him for his skin, to which he listned, for by little and little hee came neere our ships. One of our fellowes that was in our boate, tooke hold on theirs, and suddenly leapt into it, with two or three more, who enforced them to enter into our ships, wherat they were greatly astonished. But our Captain did straightwaies assure them, that they should have no harme, nor any injurie offred them at all, & entertained them very friendly, making them eate and drinke. Then did we shew them with signes, that the crosse was but onely set up to be as a light and leader which wayes to enter into the port, and that wee would shortly come againe, and bring good store of iron wares & other things, but that we would take two of his children with us, & afterward bring them to the sayd port againe: and so wee clothed two of them in shirts, and coloured coates, with red cappes, and put about every ones necke a copper chaine, whereat they were greatly contented: then gave they their old clothes to their fellowes that went backe againe, and we gave to each one of those three that went backe, a hatchet, and some knives, which made them very glad. After these were gone, and had told the newes unto their fellowes, in the after noone there came to our ships sixe boates of them, with five or sixe men in every one, to take their farewels of those two we had detained to take with us, and brought them some fish, uttering many words which we did not understand,

Two savages taken.

making signes that they would not remove the crosse we had set up.

¶ How after we were departed from the sayd porte, following our voyage along the sayd coast, we went to discover the land lying Southeast, and Northwest.

THe next day, being the 25 of the moneth, we had faire weather, and went from the said port: and being out of the river, we sailed Eastnortheast, for after the entrance into the said river, the land is [III. 210.] environed about, and maketh a bay in maner of halfe a circle, where being in our ships, we might see all the coast sayling behind, which we came to seeke, the land lying Southeast and Northwest, the course of which was distant from the river about twentie leagues.

Of the Cape S. Alvise, and Cape Memorancie, and certaine other lands, and how one of our Boates touched a Rocke and suddenly went over it.

ON munday being the 27 of the moneth, about sunne-set we went along the said land, as we have said, lying Southeast & Northwest, till Wednesday that we saw another Cape where the land beginneth to bend toward the East: we went along about 15 leagues, then doeth the land begin to turne Northward. About three leagues from the sayd Cape we sounded, and found 24 fadome water. The said lands are plaine, and the fairest and most without woods that we have seene, with goodly greene fields and medowes: we named the sayd Cape S. Alvise Cape, because that was his day: it is 49 degrees and a halfe in latitude, and in longitude*. On Wednesday morning we were on the East side of the Cape, and being almost night we went Northwestward for to approch neere to the sayd land, which trendeth North and South. From S. Alvise Cape to another called Cape Memorancie, about fifteene leagues, the land beginneth to bend Northwest. About three leagues from the sayd Cape we would needes sound,

but wee could finde no ground at 150 fadome, yet went we along the said land, about tenne leagues, to the latitude of 50 degrees. The Saturday following, being the first of August, by Sunne rising, wee had certaine other landes, lying North and Northeast, that were very high and craggie, and seemed to be mountaines: betweene which were other low lands with woods and rivers: wee went about the sayd lands, as well on the one side as on the other, still bending Northwest, to see if it were either a gulfe, or a passage, untill the fift of the moneth. The distance from one land to the other is about fifteene leagues. The middle betweene them both is 50 degrees and a terce in latitude. We had much adoe to go five miles farther, the winds were so great, and the tide against us. And at five miles end, we might plainely see and perceive land on both sides, which there beginneth to spread it selfe, but because we rather fell, then got way against the wind, we went toward land, purposing to goe to another Cape of land, lying Southward, which was the farthermost out into the sea that we could see, about five leagues from us, but so soone as we came thither, we found it to be naught else but Rockes, stones, & craggie cliffes, such as we had not found any where since we had sailed Southward from S Johns Cape: and then was the tide with us, which caried us against the wind Westward, so that as we were sayling along the sayd coast, one of our boats touched a Rocke, and suddenly went over, but we were constrained to leape out for to direct it on according to the tide.

Fifty degrees of latitude.

How after we had agreed and consulted what was best to be done, we purposed to returne: and of S. Peters Streight, and of Cape Tiennot.

AFter we had sailed along the sayd coast, for the space of two houres, behold, the tide began to turne against us, with so swift and raging a course, that it was not possible for us with 13 oares to row

or get one stones cast farther, so that we were constrained to leave our boates with some of our men to guard them, and 10 or 12 men went ashore to the sayd Cape, where we found that the land beginneth to bend Southwest, which having seene, we came to our boats againe, and so to our ships, which were stil ready under saile, hoping to go forward: but for all that, they were fallen more then foure leagues to leeward from the place where we had left them, where so soone as we came, wee assembled together all our Captaines, Masters, and Mariners, to have their advice and opinion what was best to be done: and after that every one had said, considering that the Easterly winds began to beare sway, and blow, & that the flood was so great, that we did but fall, and that there was nothing to be gotten, and that stormes and tempests began to reigne in Newfound land, and that we were so farre from home, not knowing the perils and dangers that were behind, for either we must agree to returne home againe, or els to stay there all the yeere. Moreover, we did consider, that if the Northerne winds did take us, it were not possible for us to depart thence. All which opinions being heard and considered, we altogether determined to addresse our selves homeward. Nowe because upon Saint Peters day wee entred into the sayd Streite, wee named it Saint Peters Streite. *The Streit of S. Peter.* Wee sounded it in many places, in some wee found 150 fadome water, in some 100, and neere the shoare sixtie, and cleere ground. From that day till Wednesday following, we had a good and prosperous gale of winde, so that we trended the said North shore East, Southeast, West Northwest: for such is the situation of it, except one Cape of low lands that bendeth more toward the Southeast, about twenty five leagues from the Streight. In this place we saw certaine smokes, [III. 211.] that the people of the countrey made upon the sayd cape: but because the wind blewe us toward the coast, we went not to them, which when they saw, they came

with two boates and twelve men unto us, and as freely came unto our ships, as if they had bene French men, and gave us to understand, that they came from the great gulfe, and that Tiennot was their Captaine, who then was upon that Cape, making signes unto us, that they were going home to their Countreys whence we were come with our ships, and that they were laden with Fish. We named the sayd Cape, Cape Tiennot. From the said Cape all the land trendeth Eastsoutheast, and Westnorthwest. All these lands lie low, very pleasant, environed with sand, where the sea is entermingled with marishes and shallowes, the space of twentie leagues: then doth the land begin to trend from West to Eastnortheast altogether environed with Islands two or three leagues from land, in which as farre as we could see, are many dangerous shelves more then foure or five leagues from land.

Cape Tiennot.

How that upon the ninth of August wee entred within White Sands, and upon the fift of September we came to the Port of S. Malo.

FRom the sayd Wednesday untill Saturday following, we had a great wind from the Southwest, which caused us to run Eastnortheast, on which day we came to the Easterly partes of Newfoundland, between the Granges and the Double Cape. There began great stormie winds comming from the East with great rage: wherfore we coasted the Cape Northnorthwest, to search the Northerne part, which is (as we have sayd) all environed with Islands, and being neere the said Islands and land, the wind turned into the South, which brought us within the sayd gulfe, so that the next day being the 9 of August, we by the grace of God entred within the White Sands. And this is so much as we have discovered. After that, upon the 15 of August, being the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, after that we had heard service, we altogether departed from the porte of White Sands, and with a happy and prosperous weather we came into

the middle of the sea, that is between Newfoundland and Britanie, in which place we were tost and turmoyled three dayes long with great stormes and windy tempests comming from the East, which with the ayde and assistance of God we suffred: then had we faire weather, and upon the fift of September, in the sayd yere, we came to the port of S. Malo whence we departed.

The language that is spoken in the Land newly discovered, called New France.

God	———	Gold	henyosco
the Sunne	Isnez	the privie members	assegnega
the Heaven	camet	an Arrow	cacta
the Day	———	a greene Tree	haveda
the Night	aiagla	an earthen dish	undaco
Water	ame	a Bow	———
Sand	estogaz	Brasse	aignetaze
a Sayle	aganie	the Brow	ansce
the Head	agonaze	a Feather	yco
the Throate	conguedo	the Moone	casmogan
the Nose	hehonguesto	the Earth	conda
the Teeth	hesangue	the Wind	canut
the Nayles	agetascu	the Raine	onnoscon
the Feete	ochedasco	Bread	cacacomy
the Legs	anoudasco	the Sea	amet
a dead man	amocdaza	a Ship	casaomy
a Skinne	aionasca	a Man	undo
that Man	yca	the Haires	hoc hosco
a Hatchet	asogne	the Eyes	ygata
a Cod fish	gadagoursere	the Mouth	heche
good to be eaten	guesande	the Eares	hontasco
Flesh	———	the Armes	agescu
Almonds	anougaza	a Woman	enrasesco
Figs	asconda		

[III. 212.]

a sicke Man	alovedeche	red cloth	cahoneta
Shooes	atta	a Knife	agoheda
a skinne to cover a mans privy members	ouscozon / vondico	a Mackrell	agedoneta
		Nuttes	caheya
		Apples	honesta
		Beanes	sahe
		a Sword	achesco

A shorte and briefe narration of the Navigation made by the commandement of the King of France, to the Islands of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and divers others which now are called New France, with the particular customes, and maners of the inhabitants therein.

Chap. 1.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1535, upon Whitsunday, being the 16. of May, by the commandement of our Captaine James Cartier, and with a common accord, in the Cathedrall Church of S. Malo we devoutly each one confessed our selves, and received the Sacrament: and all entring into the Quier of the sayd Church, wee presented our selves before the Reverend Father in Christ, the Lord Bishop of S. Malo, who blessed us all, being in his Bishops roabes. The Wednesday following, being the 19 of May, there arose a good gale of wind, and therefore we hoysed sayle with three ships, that is to say, the great Hermina, being in burden about a hundreth, or a hundreth and twenty tunne, wherin the foresaid Captaine James Cartier was Generall, and master Thomas Frosmont chiefe Master, accompanied with master Claudius de Pont Briand, sonne to the Lorde of Montcevell, and Cup-bearer to the Dolphin of France, Charles of Pomeraies, John Powlet, and other Gentlemen. In the second ship called the little Hermina, being of

threescore tunne burden, were Captaines under the sayd Cartier, Mace Salobert, and master William Marie. In the third ship called the Hermerillon, being of forty tunne in burden, were Captains M. William Britton, and M. James Maingare. So we sayled with a good and prosperous wind, untill the 20 of the said moneth, at which time the weather turned into stormes and tempests, the which with contrary winds, and darkenesse, endured so long that our ships being without any rest, suffered as much as any ships that ever went on seas: so that the 25 of June, by reason of that foule and foggie weather, all our ships lost sight one of another againe till wee came to Newfound land where we had appointed to meete. After we had lost one another, wee in the Generals ship were with contrary windes tost to and fro on the sea, untill the seventh of July, upon which day we arrived in Newe found land, and came to the Island called The Island of Birds, which lyeth from the maine land 14 leagues. This Island is so full of birds, that all our ships might easily have bene fraighted with them, & yet for the great number that there is, it would not seeme that any were taken away. We to victuall our selves filled two boats of them. This Island hath the Pole elevated 49 degrees, and 40 minutes. Upon the eight of the sayd moneth we sailed further, & with a prosperous weather came to the Port called The Port of white sands, that is in the Bay called The Bay of Castels, where we had purposed to meete & stay together the 15 of the said moneth. In this place therefore we looked for our fellowes, that is to say, the other two ships, till the 26 of the moneth, on which day both came together. So soone as our fellowes were come, we set our ships in a readines, taking in both water, wood, & other necessaries. And then on the 29 of the sayd moneth, early in the morning we hoised saile to passe on further, & sayling along the Northerne coast that runneth North-east and Southwest, til two houres after Sun-set or thereabouts, then we crossed along two Islands, which

The Isle of birds in 49 degrees 40 minutes.

The Bay des Chasteaux or The Grand Bay.

doe stretch further foorth then the others, which we called S. Williams Islands, being distant about 20 leagues or more from the Port of Brest. All the coast from the Castels to that place lieth East & West, Northeast & Southwest, having betweene it sundry little Islands, altogether barren and full of stones, without either earth or trees, except certain valleys only. The next day being the 30 of July, we sailed on Westward to find out other Islands which as yet we had not found 12 leagues and a halfe, among which there is a great Bay toward the North all full of Islands and great creekes where many good harboroughs seeme to be: them we named S. Marthas Islands, from which about a league and a halfe further into the sea there is a dangerous shallow, wherein are five rockes, which lie from Saint Marthas Islands about seven leagues as you passe into the sayd Islands, on the East & on the West side, to which we came the sayd day an houre after noone, & from that houre untill midnight we sailed about fifteene leagues athwart a cape of the lower Islands, which we named S. Germans Islands Southeastward, from which place about three leagues, there is a very dangerous shallow. Likewise betweene S. Germans cape and Saint Marthas, about two leagues [III. 213.] from the sayd Islands, there lyeth a banke of sand, upon which banke the water is but foure fadome deepe, and therefore seeing the danger of the coast, we strucke saile and went no further that night: The next day being the last of July, we went all along the coast that runneth East and West, and somewhat Southeasterly which is all environed about with Islands and drie sands, and in trueth is very dangerous. The length from S. Germans Cape to the said Islands is about 17 leagues and a halfe, at the end of which there is a goodly plot of ground full of huge and high trees, albeit the rest of the coast be compassed about with sands without any signe or shew of harboroughs, till we came to Cape Thiennot, which trendeth Northwest about seven leagues from the foresaid Islands, which Cape Thiennot we noted in

Cape Thiennot.

our former voyage, and therefore we sailed on all that night West and Westnorthwest, till it was day, and then the wind turned against us, wherefore we went to seeke a haven wherein we might harbour our ships, and by good hap, found one fit for our purpose, about seven leagues and a halfe beyond Cape Thiennot, & that we named S. Nicholas Haven, it lieth amidst 4 Islands that stretch into the sea: Upon the neerest wee for a token set up a woodden crosse. But note by the way, that this crosse must be brought Northeast, & then bending toward it, leave it on the left hand and you shall find sixe fadome water, and within the haven foure. Also you are to take heede of two shelves that leane outward halfe a league. All this coast is full of shoulds and very dangerous, albeit in sight many good havens seeme to be there, yet is there nought else but shelves and sands. We staied and rested our selves in the sayd haven, untill the seventh of August being Sonday: on which day we hoysed sayle, and came toward land on the South side toward Cape Rabast, distant from the sayd haven about twentie leagues Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest: but the next day there rose a stormie and a contrary winde, and because we could find no haven there toward the South, thence we went coasting along toward the North, beyond the abovesayd haven about ten leagues, where we found a goodly great gulfe, full of Islands, passages, and entrances toward what wind soever you please to bend: for the knowledge of this gulfe there is a great Island that is like to a Cape of lande, stretching somewhat further foorth than the others, and about two leagues within the land, there is an hill fashioned as it were an heape of corne. We named the sayd gulfe Saint Laurence his bay. The twelfth of the sayd moneth wee went from the sayd Saint Laurence his Bay, or gulfe, sayling Westward, and discovered a Cape of land toward the South, that runneth West and by South, distant from the sayd Saint Laurence his Bay, about five and twenty leagues. And of the two

Port S. Nicholas.

Cape Rabast.

The gulfe of S. Laurence.

A Cape of the Isle of Assumption.

wilde men which wee tooke in our former voyage, it was tolde us, that this was part of the Southerne coaste, & that there was an Island, on the Southerly parte of which is the way to goe from Honguedo (where the yeere before we had taken them) to Canada, and that two dayes journey from the sayd Cape, and Island began the Kingdome of Saguenay, on the North shore extending toward Canada, and about three leagues athwart the sayd Cape, there is above a hundreth fadome water. Moreover I beleeve that there were never so many Whales seen as wee saw that day about the sayd Cape. The next day after being our Ladie day of August the fifteenth of the moneth, having passed the Straight, we had notice of certaine lands that wee left toward the South, which landes are full of very great and high hilles, and this Cape wee named The Island of the Assumption, and one Cape of the said high countreys lyeth Eastnortheast, and Westsouthwest, the distance betweene which is about five and twenty leagues. The Countreys lying North may plainely be perceived to be higher then the Southerly, more then thirty leagues in length. We trended the sayd landes about toward the South: from the sayd day untill Tewesday noone following, the winde came West, and therefore wee bended toward the North, purposing to goe and see the land that we before had spied. Being arrived there, we found the sayd landes, as it were joyned together, and low toward the Sea. And the Northerly mountaines that are upon the sayd low lands stretch East, and West, and a quarter of the South. Our wild men told us that there was the beginning of Saguenay, and that it was land inhabited, and that thence commeth the red Copper, of them named Caignetdaze. There is betweene the Southerly lands, and the Northerly about thirtie leagues distance, and more then two hundreth fadome depth. The sayd men did moreover certifie unto us, that there was the way and beginning of the great river of Hochelaga and ready way to Canada, which river the further it

A mighty skull of Whales.

The Isle of Assumption.

The mouth of the river of Hochelaga about thirty leagues broad.

went the narrower it came, even into Canada, and that then there was fresh water, which went so farre upwards, that they had never heard of any man who had gone to the head of it, and that there is no other passage but with small boates. Our Captaine hearing their talke, and how they did affirme no other passage to be there, would not at that time proceede any further, till he had seene and noted the other lands, & coast toward the North, which he had omitted to see from S. Laurence his gulfe, because he would know, if between the lands toward the North any passage might be discovered.

How our Captaine caused the ships to returne backe againe, only to know if in Saint Laurence gulfe there were any passage toward the North. [III. 214.]

Chap. 2.

UPon the 18 of August being Wednesday, our Captaine caused his shippes to wind backe, and bend toward the other shore, so that we trended the said Northerly cost, which runneth Northeast and Southwest, being fashioned like unto halfe a bowe, and is a very high land, but yet not so high as that on the South parts. The Thursday following we came to seven very high Islands, which we named The round Islands. These Islands are distant from the South shore about 40 leagues, and stretch out into the sea about 3 or 4 leagues. Against these there are goodly low grounds to be seene full of goodly trees, which we the Friday following, with our boats compassed about. Overthwart these lands there are divers sandy shelves more then two leagues into the sea, very dangerous, which at a low water remaine almost dry. At the furthest bounds of these lowe lands, that containe about ten leagues, there is a river of fresh water, that with such swiftnesse runneth into the sea, that for the space of one league within it the water is as fresh as any fountaine water. We with our boates entred into the sayd river, at the entrance of which we found about one fadome & a halfe of water.

The seven Isles.

A swift river.

Sea-horses. There are in this river many fishes shaped like horses, which as our wild men told us, all the day long lie in the water, and the night on land: of which we saw therin a great number. The next day being the 21 of the moneth, by breake of day we hoysed saile, and sailed so long along the said coast, that we had sight of the rest of the sayd Northerne coast, which as yet we had not seene, and of the Island of the Assumption which wee went to discover, departing from the sayd land: which thing so soone as we had done, & that we were certified no other passage to be there, we came to our ships againe, which we had left at the said Islands, where is a good harborough, the water being about nine or ten fadome. In the same place by occasion of contrary winds & foggie mists, we were constrained to stay, not being either able to come out of it, or hoise saile, till the 24 of the moneth: On which day we departed & came to a haven on the Southerly coast about 80 leagues from the said Islands. This haven is over against three flat Islands that lie amidst the river, because on the midway betweene those Islands, & the sayd haven toward the North, there is a very great river that runneth betweene the high and low landes, and more then three leagues into the sea it hath many shelves, & there is not altogether two fadome water, so that the place is very dangerous: and neere unto the said shelves, there is either fifteene or 20 fadomes from shore to shore. All the Northerly coaste runneth Northeast and by North, and Southwest & by South. The said haven wherin we stayed on the South side, is as it were but a sluce of the waters that rise by the flood, & but of smal accompt: we named them S. Johns Islets, because we found them, & entred into them the day of the beheading of that Saint. And before you come to the said haven, there is an Island lying Eastward about 5 leagues distant from the same: betweene which and the land there is no passage saving only for smal boats. The haven of S. Johns Islets dryeth up all the waters that rise

The Isle of Assumption, or Natiscotec.

A haven on the Southerne coast.

A great river.

S. Johns Islets.

by flowing, although they flow two fadome at the least. The best place to harborough ships therein is on the South part of a little Island that is over against the said haven, whereby the bancke or shore of the Island riseth. Upon the first of September we departed out of the said haven, purposing to go toward Canada; & about 15 leagues from it toward the West, & West-southwest, amidst the river, there are three Islands, over against the which there is a river which runneth swift, and is of a great depth, & it is that which leadeth, and runneth into the countrey and kingdome of Saguenay, as by the two wild men of Canada it was told us. This river passeth and runneth along very high and steepe hils of bare stone, where very little earth is, & notwithstanding there is great quantity of sundry sorts of trees that grow in the said bare stones, even as upon good & fertile ground, in such sort that we have seene some so great as wel would suffise to make a mast for a ship of 30 tunne burden, and as greene as possibly can be, growing in a stony rocke without any earth at all. At the entrance of the sayd river we met with 4 boats ful of wild men, which as far as we could perceive, very fearfully came toward us, so that some of them went backe againe, & the other came as neere us as easily they might heare & understand one of our wild men, who told them his name, and then tooke acquaintance of them, upon whose word they came to us. The next day being the 2 of September, we came out of the sayd river to go to Canada, and by reason of the seas flowing, the tide was very swift and dangerous, for that on the South part of it there lie two Islands, about which, more then three leagues compasse, lie many rocks and great stones, & but two fadome water: and the flowing amidst those Islands is very unconstant and doubtful, so that if it had not bene for our boats, we had been in great danger to lose our Pinnesse: & coasting along the said drie sands, there is more then 30 fadom water.

This is the river of Tadascu or of Saguenay.

[III. 215.] About five leagues beyond the river of Saguenay Southwest, there is another Iland on the Northside, wherein are certaine high lands, and thereabouts we thought to have cast anker, on purpose to stay the next tide, but we could sound no ground in a 120 fadome, within a flight shoot from shore, so that we were constrained to winde backe to the said Iland, where wee sounded againe and found 35 fadome. The next morning we hoysed saile and went thence, sayling further on, where we had notice of a certaine kind of fish never before of any man seene or knowen. They are about the bignesse of a Porpose, yet nothing like them, of body very well proportioned, headed like Grayhounds, altogither as white as snow without any spot, within which river there is great quantitie of them: they doe live altogither betweene the Sea and the fresh water. These people of the Countrey call them Adhothuys, they tolde us that they be very savory and good to be eaten. Moreover they affirme none to be found elsewhere but in the mouth of that river. The sixth of the month, the weather being calme and faire, we went about 15 leagues more upward into the river, and there lighted on an Iland that looketh Northward, and it maketh a little haven or creeke wherein are many and innumerable great Tortoyzes, continually lying about that Iland. There are likewise great quantitie of the said Adhothuys taken by the inhabitours of the countrey, and there is as great a current in that place as is at Bordeaux in France at every tide. This Iland is in length about three leagues, and in bredth two, and is a goodly and fertile plot of ground, replenished with many goodly and great trees of many sorts. Among the rest there are many Filberd-trees, which we found hanging full of them, somewhat bigger and better in savour then ours, but somewhat harder, and therefore we called it The Iland of Filberds. The seventh of the moneth being our Ladies even, after service we went from that Iland to goe up higher into the river, and came to 14 Ilands seven or eight leagues

The river of Saguenay.

Innumerable Tortoises.

The Ile of Coudres or Filberds.

from the Iland of Filberds, where the countrey of Canada beginneth, one of which Ilands is ten leagues in length, and five in bredth, greatly inhabited of such men as onely live by fishing of such sorts of fishes as the river affordeth, according to the season of them. After we had cast anker betwene the said great Iland, & the Northerly coast, we went on land and tooke our two wild men with us, meeting with many of those countrey people, who would not at all approch unto us, but rather fled from us, untill our two men began to speake unto them, telling them that they were Taignoagny and Domagaia, who so soone as they had taken acquaintance of them, beganne greatly to rejoyce, dancing and shewing many sorts of ceremonies: and many of the chiefest of them came to our boats & brought many Eeles and other sorts of fishes, with two or three burdens of great Millet wherewith they make their bread, and many great muske millions. The same day came also many other boates full of those countreymen and weomen, to see and take acquaintance of our two men, all which were as courteously received and friendly entertained of our Captaine, as possibly could be. And to have them the better acquainted with him, and make them his friends, hee gave them many small gifts, but of small value: nevertheless they were greatly contented with them. The next day following, the Lord of Canada (whose proper name was Donnacona, but by the name of Lord they call him Agouhanna) with twelve boats came to our ships, accompanied with many people, who causing ten of his boates to goe backe with the other two, approched unto us with sixteene men. Then beganne the said Agouhanna over against the smallest of our ships, according to their maner and fashion, to frame a long Oration, mooving all his bodie and members after a strange fashion, which thing is a ceremonie and signe of gladnesse and securitie among them, and then comming to the Generals ship, where Taignoagny and Domagaia were, he spake with them & they with him, where they began

This great Iland is called The Ile of Orleans.

Maiz.

to tell and shew unto him what they had seene in France, and what good entertainement they had had: hearing which things the said Lord seemed to be very glad thereof, and prayed our Captaine to reach him his arme, that he might kisse it, which thing he did: their Lord taking it, laid it about his necke, for so they use to doe when they will make much of one. Then our Captaine entred into Agouhannas boat, causing bread and wine to be brought to make the said Lord and his companie to eate and drinke, which thing they did, and were greatly thereby contented and satisfied. Our Captaine for that time gave them nothing, because he looked for a fitter opportunity. These things being done, ech one tooke leave of others, and the said Lord went with his boats againe to his place of abode. Our Captaine then caused our boates to be set in order, that with the next tide he might goe up higher into the river, to find some safe harborough for our ships: and we passed up the river against the streame about tenne leagues, coasting the said Iland, at the end whereof, we found a goodly and pleasant sound, where is a little river and haven, where by reason of the flood there is about three fadome water. This place seemed to us very fit and commodious to harbour our ships therein, and so we did very safely, we named it the holy Crosse, for on that day we came thither. Neere unto it, there is a village, whereof Donnacona is Lord, and there he keepeth his abode: it is called Stadacona, as goodly a plot of ground as possibly may be seene, and therewithall very fruitfull, full of goodly trees even as in France, as Okes, Elmes, Ashes, Walnut trees, Maple tres, Cydrons, Vines, and white Thornes, that bring foorth fruit as bigge as any damsons, and many other sortes of trees, under which groweth as faire tall hempe, as any in France, without any seede or any mans worke or labour at all. Having considered the place, and finding it fit for our purpose, our Captaine withdrew himselfe on purpose to returne to our ships: but behold, as we were comming out of the river we met comming

Santa Croix.

[III. 216.]

Stadacona.

Goodly hemp.

against us one of the Lords of the said village of Stadacona, accompanied with many others, as men, weomen, and children, who after the fashion of their countrey, in signe of mirth and joy, began to make a long Oration, the women still singing and dancing up to the knees in water. Our Captaine knowing their good will and kindnesse toward us, caused the boat wherein they were, to come unto him, and gave them certaine trifles, as knives, and beades of glasse, whereat they were marvellous glad, for being gone about three leagues from them, for the pleasure they conceived of our comming, we might heare them sing, and see them dance for all they were so farre.

How our Captaine went to see and note the bignesse of the Iland, and the nature of it, and then returned to the ships, causing them to be brought to the river of The holy Crosse.

Chap. 3.

AFter we were come with our boats unto our ships againe, our Captaine caused our barks to be made readie to goe on land in the said Iland, to note the trees that in shew seemed so faire, and to consider the nature and qualitie of it: which thing we did, and found it full of goodly trees likes to ours. Also we saw many goodly Vines, a thing not before of us seene in those countries, and therefore we named it Bacchus Iland. It is in length about twelve leagues, in sight very pleasant, but full of woods, no part of it manured, unlesse it be in certaine places, where a few cottages be for Fishers dwellings as before we have said. The next day we departed with our ships to bring them to the place of the holy Crosse, and on the 14 of that moneth we came thither, and the Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, with 25 boats full of those people, came to meete us, comming from the place whence we were come, and going toward Stadacona, where their abiding is, and all came to our ships, shewing sundry and divers gestures of gladnesse

The Ile of Bacchus, or the Ile of Orleans.

and mirth, except those two that we had brought, to wit, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, who seemed to have altered and changed their mind and purpose, for by no meanes they would come unto our ships, albeit sundry times they were earnestly desired to doe it, whereupon we began to mistrust somewhat. Our Captaine asked them if according to promise they would go with him to Hochelaga? They answered yea, for so they had purposed, and then ech one withdrew himselfe. The next day being the fifteenth of the moneth, our Captaine went on shore, to cause certaine poles and piles to be driven into the water, and set up, that the better and safelier we might harbour our ships there: and many of those countrey people came to meete us there, among whom was Donnacona and our two men, with the rest of their company, who kept themselves aside under a point or nooke of land that is upon the shore of a certaine river, and no one of them came unto us as the other did that were not on their side. Our Captaine understanding that they were there, commanded part of our men to follow him, and he went to the saide point where he found the said Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and divers other: and after salutations given on ech side, Taignoagny setled himselfe formost to speake to our Captaine, saying that the Lord Donnacona did greatly grieve and sorrow that our Captaine and his men did weare warlike weapons, and they not. Our Captaine answered, that albeit it did greeve them, yet would not he leave them off, and that (as he knew) it was the maner of France. But for all these words our Captaine and Donnacona left not off to speake one to another, and friendly to entertaine one another. Then did we perceive, that whatsoever Taignoagny spake, was onely long of himselfe and of his fellow, for that before they departed thence our Captaine and Donnacona entred into a marvellous stedfast league of friendship, whereupon all his people at once with a loude voyce, cast out three great cryes, (a horrible thing to heare) and each one having taken leave of the

other for that day, we went aboord againe. The day following we brought our two great shippes within the river and harborough, where the waters being at the highest, are three fadome deepe, and at the lowest, but halfe a fadome. We left our Pinnesse without the road to the end we might bring it to Hochelaga. So soone as we had safely placed our ships, behold we saw Donnacona, Taignoagny & Domagaia, with more then five hundred persons, men, women and children, and the said Lord with ten or twelve of the chiefest of the countrey came aboord of our ships, who were all courteously received, [III. 217.] and friendly entertained both of our Captaine and of us all: and divers gifts of small value were given them. Then did Taignoagny tell our Captaine, that his Lord did greatly sorrow that he would go to Hochelaga, and that he would not by any meanes permit that any of them should goe with him, because the river was of no importance. Our Captaine answered him, that for all his saying, he would not leave off his going thither, if by any meanes it were possible, for that that he was commanded by his king to goe as farre as possibly he could: and that if he (that is to say Taignoagny) would goe with him, as he had promised, he should be very well entertained, beside that, he should have such a gift given him, as he should well content himselfe: for he should doe nothing else but goe with him to Hochelaga and come againe. To whom Taignoagny answered, that he would not by any meanes goe, and thereupon they sodainly returned to their houses. The next day being the 17 of September, Donnacona and his company returned even as at the first, and brought with him many Eeles, with sundry sorts of other fishes, whereof they take great store in the said river, as more largely hereafter shall be shewed. And as soone as they were come to our ships, according to their wonted use they beganne to sing and dance. This done, Donnacona caused all his people to be set on the one side: then making a round circle upon the sand he caused our Captaine with all his people to enter thereinto,

then he began to make a long Oration, holding in one of his hands a maiden child of ten or twelve yeeres old, which he presented unto our Captaine: then sodainly beganne all his people to make three great shreeks, or howles, in signe of joy and league of friendship: presently upon that he did present unto him two other young male children one after another, but younger then the other, at the giving of which even as before they gave out shreekes and howles very loud, with other cerimonies: for which presents, our Captaine gave the saide Lorde great and hearty thankes. Then Taignoagny told our Captaine, that one of the children was his owne brother, and that the maiden child was daughter unto the said Lords owne sister, and the presents were only given him to the end he should not goe to Hochelaga at all: to whom our Captaine answered, that if they were onely given him to that intent, if so he would, he should take them againe, for that by no meanes he would leave his going off, for as much as he was so commanded of his King. But concerning this, Domagaia told our Captaine that their Lord had given him those children as a signe and token of goodwill and security, and that he was contented to goe with him to Hochelaga, upon which talke great wordes arose betweene Taignoagny and Domagaia, by which we plainely perceived that Taignoagny was but a craftie knave, and that he intended but mischiefe and treason, as well by this deede as others that we by him had seene. After that our Captaine caused the said children to be put in our ships, and caused two Swords and two copper Basons, the one wrought, the other plaine, to be brought unto him, and them he gave to Donnacona, who was therewith greatly contented, yeelding most heartie thankes unto our Captaine for them, and presently upon that he commaunded all his people to sing and dance, and desired our Captaine to cause a peece of artillerie to be shot off, because Taignoagny and Domagaia made great brags of it, and had told them marvellous things, and also, because they had never heard nor seene

any before: to whom our Captaine answered, that he was content: and by and by he commanded his men to shoot off twelve cannons charged with bullets into the wood that was hard by those people and ships, at whose noyse they were greatly astonished and amazed, for they thought that heaven had fallen upon them, and put themselves to flight, howling, crying, and shreeking, so that it seemed hell was broken loose. But before we went thence, Taignoagny caused other men to tell us, that those men which we had left in our Pinnesse in the road, had slaine two men of their company, with a peece of ordinance that they had shot off, whereupon the rest had put themselves all to flight, as though they should all have bene slaine: which afterward we found untrue, because our men had not shot off any peece at all that day.

How Donnacona and Taignoagny with others, devised a prettie sleight or pollicie: for they caused three of their men to be attired like Divels, fayning themselves to be sent from their God Cudruaigny, onely to hinder our voyage to Hochelaga.

Chap. 4.

THe next day being the eighteenth of September, these men still endevoured themselves to seeke all meanes possible to hinder and let our going to Hochelaga, and devised a prettie guile, as hereafter shalbe shewed. They went and dressed three men like Divels, being wrapped in dogges skinnes white and blacke, their faces besmeered as blacke as any coales, with hornes on their heads more then a yard long, and caused them secretly to be put in one of their boates, but came not neere our ships as they were wont to doe, for they lay hidden within the wood for the space of two houres, [III. 218.] looking for the tide, to the end the boat wherein the Divels were, might approch and come neere us, which when time was, came, and all the rest issued out of the wood comming to us, but yet not so neere as they were wont to do. There began Taignoagny to salute

our Captaine, who asked him if he would have the boate to come for him; he answered, not for that time, but after a while he would come unto our ships: then presently came that boat rushing out, wherein the three counterfeit Divels were with such long hornes on their heads, and the middlemost came making a long Oration and passed along our ships without turning or looking toward us, but with the boat went toward the land. Then did Donnacona with all his people pursue them, and lay hold on the boat and Divels, who so soone as the men were come to them, fell prostrate in the boate even as if they had beene dead: then were they taken up and carried into the wood, being but a stones cast off, then every one withdrew himselfe into the wood, not one staying behind with us, where being, they began to make a long discourse, so loud that we might heare them in our ships, which lasted above halfe an houre, & being ended we began to espie Taignoagny and Domagaia comming towards us, holding their hands upward joyned together, carying their hats under their upper garment, shewing a great admiration, and Taignoagny looking up to heaven, cryed three times Jesus, Jesus, Jesus, and Domagaia doing as his fellow had done before, cryed, Jesus Maria, James Cartier. Our Captaine hearing them, and seeing their gestures and ceremonies, asked of them what they ayled, and what was happened or chanced anew; they answered, that there were very ill tydings befallen, saying in French, Nenni est il bon, that is to say, it was not good: our Captaine asked them againe what it was, then answered they, that their God Cudruaigny had spoken in Hochelaga: and that he had sent those three men to shewe unto them that there was so much yce and snow in that countrey, that whosoever went thither should die, which wordes when we heard, we laughed and mocked them saying, that their God Cudruaigny was but a foole and a noddie, for he knew not what he did or said: then bade we them shew his messengers from us, that Christ would defend them all

from colde, if they would beleeve in him. Then did they aske of our Captaine if he had spoken with Jesus: he answered no, but that his Priests had, and that he tolde them they should have faire weather: which wordes when they had heard, they thanked our Captaine, and departed toward the wood to tell those newes unto their felowes, who sodainly came all rushing out of the wood, seeming to be very glad for those words that our Captaine had spoken, and to shew that thereby they had had, and felt great joy, so soone as they were before our ships, they altogither gave out three great shreekes, and thereupon beganne to sing and dance, as they were wont to doe. But for a resolution of the matter Taignoagny and Domagaia tolde our Captaine, that their Lord Donnacona would by no meanes permit that any of them should goe with him to Hochelaga, unlesse he would leave him some hostage to stay with him: our Captaine answered them, that if they would not goe with him with a good will, they should stay, and that for all them he would not leave off his journey thither.

How our Captaine with all his Gentlemen and fiftie Mariners departed with our Pinnesse, and the two boates from Canada to goe to Hochelaga: and also there is described, what was seene by the way upon the said river.

Chap. 5.

THe next day being the 19 of September we hoysed saile, and with our Pinnesse and two boates departed to goe up the river with the flood, where on both shores of it we beganne to see as goodly a countrey as possibly can with eye be seene, all replenished with very goodly trees, and Vines laden as full of grapes as could be all along the river, which rather seemed to have bin planted by mans hand than otherwise. True it is, that because they are not dressed and wrought as they should be, their bunches of grapes are not so great nor sweete as ours: also we sawe all along the river many houses

Vines laden with grapes.

inhabited of Fishers, which take all kindes of fishes, and they came with as great familiaritie and kindnesse unto us, as if we had beene their Countreymen, and brought us great store of fish, with other such things as they had, which we exchanged with them for other wares, who lifting up their hands toward heaven, gave many signes of joy: we stayed at a place called Hochelai, about five and twentie leagues from Canada, where the river waxeth very narrow, and runneth very swift, wherefore it is very dangerous, not onely for that, but also for certaine great stones that are therein: Many boates and barkes came unto us, in one of which came one of the chiefe Lords of the countrey, making a long discourse, who being come neere us, did by evident signes and gestures shew us, that the higher the river went, the more dangerous it was, and bade us take heede of our selves. The said Lord presented and gave unto our Captaine two of his owne children, of which our Captaine tooke one being a wench 7 or 8 yeres old, the man child he gave him againe, because it was too young, for it was but two or three yeeres old. Our Captaine as friendly and as courteously as he could did entertaine and receive the said Lord and his company, giving them certaine small trifles, and so they departed toward the shore againe. Afterwards the sayd Lord and his wife came unto Canada to visite his daughter, bringing unto our Captaine certaine small presents. From the nineteenth untill the eight and twentieth of September, we sailed up along the saide river, never losing one houre of time, all which time we saw as goodly and pleasant a countrey as possible can be wished for, full (as we have said before) of all sorts of goodly trees, that is to say, Okes, Elmes, Walnut-trees, Cedars, Firres, Ashes, Boxe, Willowes, and great store of Vines, all as full of grapes as could be, so that if any of our fellowes went on shore, they came home laden with them: there are likewise many Cranes, Swannes, Geese, Duckes, Feasants, Partriges, Thrushes, Blackbirds, Turtles, Finches, Redbreasts, Nightingales,

Hochelay.

[III. 219.]

Sparrowes of diverse kindes, with many other sorts of Birds, even as in France, and great plentie and store. Upon the 28 of September, we came to a great wide lake in the middle of the river five or sixe leagues broad, and twelve long, all that day we went against the tide, having but two fadome water, still keeping the sayd scantling: being come to one of the heads of the lake, we could espie no passage or going out, nay, rather it seemed to have bene closed and shut up round about, and there was but a fadome and a halfe of water, little more or lesse. And therefore we were constrayned to cast anker, and to stay with our Pinnesse, and went with our two boates to seeke some going out, and in one place we found foure or five branches, which out of the river come into the lake, and they came from Hochelaga. But in the said branches, because of the great fiercenesse and swiftnesse wherewith they breake out, and the course of the water, they make certaine barres and shoulds, and at that time there was but a fadome water. Those Shouldes being passed, we found foure or five fadome, and as farre as we could perceive by the flood, it was that time of the yeere that the waters are lowest, for at other times they flowe higher by three fadomes. All these foure or five branches do compasse about five or sixe Ilands very pleasant, which make the head of the lake: about fifteene leagues beyond, they doe all come into one. That day we landed in one of the saide Ilands, and met with five men that were hunting of wilde beastes, who as freely and familiarly came to our boates without any feare, as if we had ever bene brought up togither. Our boates being somewhat neere the shore, one of them tooke our Captaine in his armes, and caried him on shore, as lightly and as easily as if he had bene a child of five yeeres old: so strong and sturdie was this fellow. We found that they had a great heape of wilde Rats that live in the water, as bigge as a Conny, and very good to eate, which they gave unto our Captaine, who for a recompence gave them knives and

The lake of Angolesme.

Wild rats as big as Conies.

glassen Beades. We asked them with signes if that was the way to Hochelaga, they answered yea, and that we had yet three dayes sayling thither.

How our Captaine caused our boates to be mended and dressed to goe to Hochelaga: and because the way was somewhat difficult and hard, we left our Pinnesse behinde: and how we came thither, and what entertainement we had of the people.

Chap. 6.

They leave their Pinnesse behind.

THe next day our Captaine seeing that for that time it was not possible for our Pinnesse to goe on any further, he caused our boates to be made readie, and as much munition and victuals to be put in them, as they could well beare: he departed with them, accompanyed with many Gentlemen, that is to say, Claudius of Ponte Briand, Cup-bearer to the Lorde Dolphin of France, Charles of Pommeraye, John Gouion, John Powlet, with twentie & eight Mariners: and Mace Jallobert, and William Briton, who had the charge under the Captaine of the other two ships, to goe up as farre as they could into that river: we sayled with good and prosperous weather untill the second of October, on which day we came to the towne of Hochelaga, distant from the place where we had left our Pinnesse five and fortie leagues. In which place of Hochelaga, and all the way we went, we met with many of those countriemen, who brought us fish and such other victuals as they had, still dancing and greatly rejoycing at our comming. Our Captaine to lure them in, and to keepe them our friends, to recompence them, gave them knives, beades, and such small trifles, wherewith they were greatly satisfied. So soone as we were come neere Hochelaga, there came to meete us above a thousand persons, men, women and children, who afterward did as friendly and merily entertaine and receive us as any father would doe his child, which he had not of long time seene, the men dauncing on one side, the women on another, and likewise the children on

Hochelaga distant from the lake of Angolesme 45. leagues.

another: after that they brought us great store of fish, & of their bread made of Millet, casting them into our [III. 220.] boates so thicke, that you would have thought it to fall from heaven. Which when our Captaine saw, he with many of his company went on shore: so soone as ever we were aland they came clustring about us, making very much of us, bringing their young children in their armes, onely to have our Captaine and his company to touch them, making signes and shewes of great mirth and gladnesse, that lasted more than halfe an houre. Our Captaine seeing their loving kindnesse and entertainement of us, caused all the women orderly to be set in aray, and gave them Beades made of Tinne, and other such small trifles, and to some of the men he gave knives: then he returned to the boates to supper, and so passed that night, all which while all those people stood on the shore as neere our boates as they might, making great fires, and dauncing very merily, still crying Aguiaze, which in their tongue signifieth Mirth and Safetie.

How our Captaine with five Gentlemen and twentie armed men all well in order, went to see the towne of Hochelaga, and the situation of it.

Chap. 7.

OUr Captaine the next day very earely in the morning, having very gorgeously attired himselfe, caused all his company to be set in order to go to see the towne and habitation of those people, and a certaine mountaine that is somewhat neere the citie: with whom went also five Gentlemen and twentie Mariners, leaving the rest to keepe and looke to our boates: we tooke with us three men of Hochelaga to bring us to the place. All along as we went we found the way as well beaten and frequented as can be, the fairest and best countrey that possibly can be seene, full of as goodly great Okes as are in any wood in France, under which the ground was all covered over with faire Akornes. After we had gone about foure or five miles, we met by the way one of the chiefest Lords of

The third of October.

Hochelaga sixe miles from the river side.

the citie, accompanied with many moe, who so soone as he sawe us beckned and made signes upon us, that we must rest us in that place where they had made a great fire and so we did. After that we had rested our selves there a while, the said Lord began to make a long discourse, even as we have saide above, they are accustomed to doe in signe of mirth and friendship, shewing our Captaine and all his company a joyfull countenance, and good will, who gave him two hatchets, a paire of knives and a crosse which he made him to kisse, and then put it about his necke, for which he gave our Captaine heartie thankes. This done, we went along, and about a mile and a halfe farther, we began to finde goodly and large fieldes, full of such corne as the countrie yeeldeth. It is even as the Millet of Bresil, as great and somewhat bigger then small peason, wherewith they live even as we doe with ours. In the midst of those fields is the citie of Hochelaga, placed neere, and as it were joyned to a great mountaine that is tilled round about, very fertill, on the top of which you may see very farre, we named it Mount Roiall. The citie of Hochelaga is round, compassed about with timber, with three course of Rampires, one within another framed like a sharpe Spire, but laide acrosse above. The middlemost of them is made and built, as a direct line, but perpendicular. The Rampires are framed and fashioned with peeces of timber, layd along on the ground, very well and cunningly joyned togither after their fashion. This enclosure is in height about two rods. It hath but one gate or entrie thereat, which is shut with piles, stakes, and barres. Over it, and also in many places of the wall, there be places to runne along, and ladders to get up, all full of stones, for the defence of it. There are in the towne about fiftie houses, about fiftie paces long, and twelve, or fifteene broad, built all of wood, covered over with the barke of the wood as broad as any boord, very finely and cunningly joyned togither. Within the said houses, there are many roomes, lodgings and chambers. In the middest of every one there is a great

This Millet is Maiz.

The description of Hochelaga.

Court, in the middle whereof they make their fire. They live in common togither: then doe the husbands, wives and children each one retire themselves to their chambers. They have also on the top of their houses certaine garrets, wherein they keepe their corne to make their bread withall: they call it Carraconny, which they make as hereafter shall follow. They have certaine peeces of wood, made hollow like those whereon we beate our hempe, and with certaine beetles of wood they beat their corne to powder: then they make paste of it, and of the paste, cakes or wreathes, then they lay them on a broad and hote stone, and then cover it with hote stones, and so they bake their bread in stead of Ovens. They make also sundry sorts of pottage with the said corne and also of pease and of beanes, whereof they have great store, as also with other fruits, as Muske-Millions, and very great Cowcumbers. They have also in their houses certaine vessels as bigge as any But or Tun, wherein they preserve and keepe their fish, causing the same in sommer to be dried in the sunne, and live therewith in winter, whereof they make great provision, as we by experience have seene. All their viands and meates are without any tast or savour of salt at all. They sleepe upon barkes of trees laide all along upon the ground being over-spread with the skinnes of certaine wilde Beastes, wherewith they also cloth and cover themselves. The thing most precious that they have in all the world they call Asurgny: it is as white as any snow: they take it in the said river of Cornibotz, in the maner folowing. When any one hath deserved death, or that they take any of their enemies in Warres, first they kill him, then with certaine knives they give great slashes and strokes upon their buttocks, flankes, thighs, and shoulders: then they cast the same bodie so mangled downe to the bottome of the river, in a place where the said Esurgny is, and there leave it ten or 12 houres, then they take it up againe, and in the cuts find the said Esurgny or Cornibotz. Of them they make beads, and weare them about their

Maiz, pease, beanes, muskmillions, cucumbers, and other fruits.

Plentie of fish and the preserving thereof.

[III. 221.]

necks, even as we doe chaines of gold and silver, accounting it the preciousest thing in the world. They have this vertue and propertie in them, they will stop or stanch bleeding at the nose, for we have prooved it. These people are given to no other exercise, but onely to husbandrie and fishing for their sustenance: they have no care of any other wealth or commoditie in this world, for they have no knowledge of it, and that is, because they never travell and go out of their countrey, as those of Canada and Saguenay doe, albeit the Canadians with eight or nine Villages more alongst that river be subjects unto them.

Esurgni good to stanch blood.

How we came to the Towne of Hochelaga, and the entertainement which there we had, and of certaine gifts which our Captaine gave them, with divers other things.

Chap. 8.

SO soone as we were come neere the Towne, a great number of the inhabitants thereof came to present themselves before us after their fashion, making very much of us: we were by our guides brought into the middest of the towne. They have in the middlemost part of their houses a large square place, being from side to side a good stones cast, whither we were brought, and there with signes were commanded to stay: then suddenly all the women and maidens of the towne gathered themselves together, part of which had their armes full of young children, and as many as could came to rubbe our faces, our armes, and what part of the bodie soever they could touch, weeping for very joy that they saw us, shewing us the best countenance that possibly they could, desiring us with their signes, that it would please us to touch their children. That done, the men caused the women to withdraw themselves backe, then they every one sate downe on the ground round about us, as if they would have shewen and rehearsed some Comedie or other shew: then presently came the women againe,

every one bringing a foure square Matte in manner of Carpets, and spreading them abroad on the ground in that place, they caused us to sit upon them. That done, the Lord & King of the countrey was brought upon 9 or 10 mens shoulders, (whom in their tongue they call Agouhanna) sitting upon a great Stagges skinne, and they laide him downe upon the foresaid mats neere to the Captaine, every one beckning unto us that hee was their Lord and King. This Agouhanna was a man about fiftie yeeres old: he was no whit better apparelled then any of the rest, onely excepted, that he had a certaine thing made of the skinnes of Hedgehogs like a red wreath, and that was in stead of his Crowne. He was full of the palsie, and his members shronke togither. After he had with certaine signes saluted our Captaine and all his companie, and by manifest tokens bid all welcome, he shewed his legges and armes to our Captaine, and with signes desired him to touch them, and so he did, rubbing them with his owne hands: then did Agouhanna take the wreath or crowne he had about his head, and gave it unto our Captaine: that done they brought before him divers diseased men, some blinde, some criple, some lame and impotent, and some so old that the haire of their eyelids came downe and covered their cheekes, and layd them all along before our Captaine, to the end they might of him be touched: for it seemed unto them that God was descended and come downe from heaven to heale them. Our Captaine seeing the misery and devotion of this poore people, recited the Gospel of Saint John, that is to say, In the beginning was the word; touching every one that were diseased, praying to God that it would please him to open the hearts of this poore people, and to make them know his holy word, and that they might receive Baptisme and Christendome: that done, he tooke a Service-booke in his hand, and with a loud voyce read all the passion of Christ, word by word, that all the standers by might heare him: all which while this poore people kept silence, & were

marvellously attentive, looking up to heaven, and imitating us in gestures. Then he caused the men all orderly to be set on one side, the women on another, & likewise the children on an other, & to the chiefest of them he gave hatchets, to the other knives, & to the women beads & such other small trifles. Then where ye children were, he cast rings, counters, & brooches made of Tin, [III. 222.] whereat they seemed to be very glad. That done, our Captaine commanded Trumpets and other musicall instruments to be sounded, which when they heard, they were very merie. Then we tooke our leave and went to our boate: the women seeing that, put themselves before to stay us, and brought us out of their meates that they had made readie for us, as fish, pottage, beanes, and such other things, thinking to make us eate, and dine in that place: but because the meates had no savour at all of salt, we liked them not, but thanked them, and with signes gave them to understand that we had no neede to eate. When wee were out of the Towne, diverse of the men and women followed us, and brought us to the toppe *Mount Roial.* of the foresaid mountaine, which wee named Mount Roial, it is about a league from the Towne. When as we were on the toppe of it, we might discerne and *A ridge of mountaines to the North of Hochelaga and another to the South.* plainely see thirtie leagues about. On the Northside of it there are many hilles to be seene running West and East, and as many more on the South, amongst and betweene the which the Countrey is as faire and as pleasant as possibly can be seene, being levell, smooth, and very plaine, fit to be husbanded and tilled: and in the middest of those fieldes we saw the river further up a great way then where we had left our boates, where was the greatest and the swiftest fall of water that any where hath beene seene, and as great, wide and large as our sight might discerne, going Southwest along three faire *The 3 saults or falles of water in 44 degrees of latitude.* and round mountaines that wee sawe, as we judged about fifteene leagues from us. Those which brought us thither tolde and shewed us, that in the sayd river there were three such falles of water more, as that was where we

had left our boates: but because we could not understand their language, we could not knowe how farre they were one from another. Moreover they shewed us with signes, that the said three fals being past, a man might sayle the space of three moneths more alongst that River, and that along the hilles that are on the North side there is a great river, which (even as the other) commeth from the West, we thought it to be the river that runneth through the Countrey of Saguenay: and without any signe or question mooved or asked of them, they tooke the chayne of our Captaines whistle, which was of silver, and the dagger-haft of one of our fellow Mariners, hanging on his side being of yellow copper guilt, and shewed us that such stuffe came from the said River, and that there be Agouionda, that is as much to say, as evill people, who goe all armed even to their fingers ends. Also they shewed us the manner and making of their armour: they are made of cordes and wood, finely and cunningly wrought togither. They gave us also to understande that those Agouionda doe continually warre one against another, but because we did not understand them well, we could not perceive how farre it was to that Countrey. Our Captaine shewed them redde Copper, which in their language they call Caignetadze, and looking towarde that Countrey, with signes asked them if any came from thence, they shaking their heads answered no: but they shewed us that it came from Saguenay, and that lyeth cleane contrary to the other. After we had heard and seene these things of them, we drewe to our boates accompanied with a great multitude of those people: some of them when as they sawe any of our fellowes weary, would take them up on their shoulders, and carry them as on horsebacke. So soone as we came to our boates we hoysed saile to goe toward our Pinnesse, doubting of some mischance. Our departure grieved and displeased them very much, for they followed us along the river as farre as they could: we went so fast that on munday being the fourth of October

The river of Saguenay commeth from the West, where there is gold and silver.

Red copper in Saguenay.

wee came where our Pinnesse was. The Tuesday following being the fift of the moneth, we hoysed saile, and with our Pinnesse and boates departed from thence toward the Province of Canada, to the port of the Holy Crosse, where we had left our ships. The seventh day we came against a river that commeth from the North, and entred into that river, at the entrance whereof are foure little Ilands full of faire and goodly trees: we named that river The river of Fovetz: But because one of those Ilandes stretcheth it selfe a great way into the river, our Captaine at the point of it caused a goodly great Crosse to be set up, and commanded the boates to be made readie, that with the next tide he might goe up the saide river, and consider the qualitie of it, which wee did, and that day went up as farre as we could: but because we found it to be of no importance, and very shallow, we returned and sayled downe the river.

How we came to the Port of the Holy Crosse, and in what state we found our ships: and how the Lord of the Countrey came to visite our Captaine, and our Captaine him: and of certaine particular customes of the people.

Chap. 9.

UPon Monday being the 11 of October we came to the Port of the Holy Crosse, where our ships were, and found that the Masters and Mariners we had left there, had made and reared a trench before the ships, altogither closed with great peeces of timber set upright
[III. 223.] and very well fastened togither: then had they beset the said trench about with peeces of Artillerie and other necessarie things to shield and defend themselves from the power of all the countrey. So soone as the Lord of the countrey heard of our comming, the next day being the twelfth of October, he came to visite us, accompanied with Taignoagny, Domagaia and many others, fayning to be very glad of our comming, making

much of our Captaine, who as friendly as he could, entertained them, albeit they had not deserved it. Donnacona their Lord desired our Captaine the next day to come and see Canada, which he promised to doe: for the next day being the 13 of the moneth, he with all his Gentlemen and fiftie Mariners very well appointed, went to visite Donnacona and his people, about a league from our ships. The place where they make their abode is called Stadacona. When we were about a stones cast from their houses, many of the inhabitants came to meete us, being all set in a ranke, and (as their custome is) the men all on one side, & the women on the other, still dancing and singing without any ceasing: and after we had saluted and received one another, our Captaine gave them knives and such other sleight things: then he caused all the women and children to passe along before him, giving ech one a ring of Tin, for which they gave him hearty thankes: that done, our Captaine was by Donnacona and Taignoagny, brought to see their houses, which (the qualitie considered) were very well provided, and stored with such victuals as the countrey yeeldeth, to passe away the winter withall. Then they shewed us the skins of five mens heads spread upon boords as we doe use parchment: Donnacona told us that they were skins of Toudamani, a people dwelling toward the South, who continually doe warre against them. Moreover they told us, that it was two yeeres past that those Toudamans came to assault them, yea even into the said river, in an Iland that lyeth over against Saguenay, where they had bin the night before, as they were going a warfaring in Hognedo, with 200 persons, men, women, and children, who being all asleepe in a Fort that they had made, they were assaulted by the said Toudamans, who put fire round about the Fort, and as they would have come out of it to save themselves, they were all slaine, only five excepted, who escaped. For which losse they yet sorrowed, shewing

Stadacona.

Toudamani dwelling Southward of Canada.

with signes, that one day they would be revenged: that done, we came to our ships againe.

The manner how the people of that Countrey live: and of certaine conditions: of their faith, maners, and customes.

Chap. 10.

THis people beleeve no whit in God, but in one whom they call Cudruaigni: they say that often he speaketh with them and telleth them what weather shal follow, whether good or bad. Moreover they say, that when he is angry with them he casteth dust into their eyes: they beleeve that when they die they go into the stars, & thence by litle & little descend downe into the Horizon, even as the stars doe, & that then they goe into certaine greene fields full of goodly faire & precious trees, floures, & fruits. After that they had given us these things to understand, we shewed them their error, and told that their Cudruaigni did but deceive them, for he is but a Divell & an evill spirit: affirming unto them, that there is but one onely God, who is in heaven, and who giveth us all necessaries, being the Creatour of all himselfe, and that onely we must beleeve in him: moreover, that it is necessarie for us to be baptised, otherwise wee are damned into hell. These and many other things concerning our faith and religion we shewed them, all which they did easily beleeve, calling their Cudruaigni, Agouiada, that is to say, nought, so that very earnestly they desired and prayed our Captaine that he would cause them to be baptised, and their Lorde, and Taignoagny, Domagaia, and all the people of the towne came unto us, hoping to be baptised: but because we did not throughly know their minde, and that there was no bodie could teach them our beliefe & religion, we excused our selves, desiring Taignoagny, & Domagaia, to tell the rest of their countreymen, that he would come againe another time, & bring Priests & chrisome with us, for

They desire to be baptized.

without them they could not be baptised: which they did easily beleeve, for Domagaia & Taignoagny had seene many children baptised in Britain whiles they were there. Which promise when they heard they seemed to be very glad. They live in common togither: and of such commodities as their countrey yeeldeth they are indifferently well stored, the inhabitants of the countrey cloth themselves with the skinnes of certaine wilde beasts, but very miserably. In winter they weare hosen and shoes made of wilde beasts skins, and in Sommer they goe barefooted. They keepe and observe the rites of matrimonie, saving that every one weddeth 2 or 3 wives, which (their husbands being dead) do never marrie againe, but for the death of their husbands weare a certaine blacke weede all the daies of their life, besmearing al their faces with cole-dust & grease mingled togither as thicke as the backe of a knife, and by that they are knowen to be widdowes. They have a filthy [III. 224.] and detestable use in marrying of their maidens, and that is this, they put them all (after they are of lawfull age to marry) in a common place, as harlots free for every man that will have to doe with them, untill such time as they find a match. This I say, because I have seene by experience many housen full of those Damosels, even as our schooles are full of children in France to learne to reade. Moreover, the misrule and riot that they keepe in those houses is very great, for very wantonly they sport and dally togither, shewing whatsoever God hath sent them. They are no men of great labour. They digge their grounds with certaine peeces of wood, as bigge as halfe a sword, on which ground groweth their corne, which they call Offici: it *Their Maiz.* is as bigge as our small peason: there is great quantitie of it growing in Bresill. They have also great store of Muske-milions, Pompions, Gourds, Cucumbers, Peason and Beanes of every colour, yet differing from ours. There groweth also a certaine kind of herbe, whereof in Sommer they make great provision for all the yeere,

Tobacco described.

making great account of it, and onely men use of it, and first they cause it to be dried in the sunne, then weare it about their neckes wrapped in a little beasts skinne made like a little bagge, with a hollow peece of stone or wood like a pipe: then when they please they make pouder of it, and then put it in one of the ends of the said Cornet or pipe, and laying a cole of fire upon it, at the other ende sucke so long, that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till that it commeth out of their mouth and nostrils, even as out of the Tonnell of a chimney. They say that this doth keepe them warme and in health: they never goe without some of it about them. We our selves have tryed the same smoke, and having put it in our mouthes, it seemed almost as hot as Pepper. The women of that countrey doe labour much more then the men, as well in fishing (whereto they are greatly given) as in tilling and husbanding their grounds, and other things: as well the men as women and children, are very much more able to resist cold then savage beastes, for wee with our owne eyes have seene some of them, when it was coldest (which cold was extreme raw and bitter) come to our ships starke naked going upon snow & yce, which thing seemeth incredible to them that have not seene it. When as the snow and yce lyeth on the ground, they take great store of wilde beasts, as Faunes, Stags, Beares, Marterns, Hares & Foxes, with divers other sorts whose flesh they eate raw, having first dried it in ye sunne or smoke, and so they doe their fish. As farre foorth as we could perceive and understand by these people, it were a very easie thing to bring them to some familiaritie & civility, and make them learne what one would. The Lord God for his mercies sake set therunto his helping hand when he seeth cause. Amen.

Of the greatnesse and depth of the said river, and of the sorts of beasts, birdes, fishes, and other things that we have seene, with the situation of the place.

Chap. 11.

THe said river beginneth beyond the Iland of the Assumption, over against the high mountaines of Hognedo, and of the seven Ilands. The distance over from one side to the other is about 35 or 40 leagues. In the middest it is above 200 fadome deepe. The surest way to sayle upon it is on the South side. And toward the North, that is to say, from the said 7 Ilands, from side to side, there is seven leagues distance, where are also two great rivers that come downe from the hils of Saguenay, and make divers very dangerous shelves in the sea. At the entrance of those two rivers we saw many & great store of Whales and Sea horses. Overthwart the said Ilands there is another little river that runneth along those marrish grounds about 3 or 4 leagues, wherin there is great store of water foules. From the entrance of that river to Hochelaga there is about 300 leagues distance: the originall beginning of it is in the river that commeth from Saguenay, which riseth and springeth among high & steepe hils: it entreth into that river before it commeth to the Province of Canada on the North side. That river is very deepe, high, and streight, wherefore it is very dangerous for any vessell to goe upon it. After that river followeth the Province of Canada, wherein are many people dwelling in open boroughes and villages. There are also in the circuit and territorie of Canada, along, and within the said river, many other Ilands, some great & some small, among which there is one that containeth above ten leagues in length, full of goodly and high trees, and also many Vines. You may goe into it from both sides, but yet the surest passage is on the South side. On the shore or banke of that river Westward, there is a goodly, faire, and delectable bay or creeke, convenient and fit for to

It is now found to be but 200 leagues.

harborough ships. Hard by there is in that river one place very narrow, deepe, & swift running, but it is not passing the third part of a league, over against the which there is a goodly high peece of land, with a towne therein: and the countrey about it is very well tilled & wrought, & as good as possibly can be seene. That is the place and abode of Donnacona, and of our two men we tooke in our first voyage, it is called Stadacona. But before we come to it, there are 4 other peopled townes, [III. 225.] that is to say, Ayraste, Starnatan, Tailla, which standeth upon a hill, Scitadin, and then Stadagona, under which towne toward the North the river and port of the holy crosse is, where we staied from the 15 of September, untill the 16 of May 1536, and there our ships remained dry, as we have said before. That place being past, we found the habitation of the people called Teguenondahi, standing upon an high mountaine, and the valley of Hochelay, which standeth in a Champaigne countrey. All the sayd countrey on both sides of the river as farre as Hochelay & beyond, is as faire and plaine as ever was seene. There are certaine mountaines farre distant from the said river, which are to be seene above the foresaid townes, from which mountaines divers rivers descend, which fall into the said great river. All that countrey is full of sundry sorts of wood and many Vines, unlesse it be about the places that are inhabited, where they have pulled up the trees to till and labour the ground, and to build their houses and lodgings. There is great store of Stags, Deere, Beares, and other such like sorts of beasts, as Connies, Hares, Marterns, Foxes, Otters, Bevers, Weasels, Badgers, and Rats exceeding great, and divers other sortes of wilde beastes. They cloth themselves with the skinnes of those beasts, because they have nothing else to make them apparell withall. There are also many sorts of birdes, as Cranes, Swannes, Bustards, wilde Geese white and gray, Duckes, Thrushes, Blackbirdes, Turtles, wilde Pigeons, Lenites, Finches, Redbreasts, Stares, Nightingales, Sparrowes, and other Birdes,

Rivers falling from mountaines.

Beasts.

Birdes.

even as in France. Also, as we have said before, the said river is the plentifullest of fish that ever hath of any man bene seene or heard of, because that from the mouth to the end of it, according to their seasons, you shall finde all sorts of fresh water fish and salt. There are also many Whales, Porposes, Seahorses, and Adhothuis, which is a kind of fish that we had never seene nor heard of before. They are as great as Porposes, as white as any snow, their bodie and head fashioned as a grayhound, they are wont alwaies to abide betwene the fresh & salt water, which beginneth betweene the river of Saguenay and Canada. *Fishes.*

Of certaine advertisements and notes given unto us by those countreymen, after our returne from Hochelaga.

Chap. 12.

AFter our returne from Hochelaga, we dealt, traffickt, and with great familiaritie and love were conversant with those that dwelt neerest unto our ships, except that sometimes we had strife and contention with certaine naughtie people, full sore against the will of the others. Wee understood of Donnacona and of others, that the said river is called the river of Saguenay, and goeth to Saguenay, being somewhat more then a league farther Westnorthwest, and that 8 or 9 dayes journey beyond, it wil beare but small boats. But the right and readie way to Saguenay is up that river to Hochelaga, and then into another that commeth from Saguenay, and then entreth into the foresaid river, & that there is yet one moneths sayling thither. Moreover, they told us and gave us to understand, that there are people clad with cloth as we are, very honest, and many inhabited townes, and that they have great store of Gold and red Copper: and that about the land beyond the said first river to Hochelaga and Saguenay, is an Iland environed round about with that and other rivers, and that beyond Saguenay the said river entereth into two or 3 great lakes, and that there is

The right way to Saguenay.

Store of golde & red copper.

Two or three great lakes.

Mare dulcium aquarum.

a Sea of fresh water found, and as they have heard say of those of Saguenay, there was never man heard of that found out the end thereof: for, as they told us, they themselves were never there. Moreover they told us, that where we had left our Pinnesse when wee went to Hochelaga, there is a river that goeth Southwest, from whence there is a whole moneths sayling to goe to a certaine land, where there is neither yce nor snow seene, where the inhabitants do continually warre one against another, where is great store of Oranges, Almonds, Nuts, and Apples, with many other sorts of fruits, and that the men and women are clad with beasts skinnes even as they: we asked them if there were any gold or red copper, they answered no. I take this place to be toward Florida, as farre as I could perceive and understand by their signes and tokens.

The river of Irrouacas falling into the lake of Angolesme.

Of a strange and cruell disease that came to the people of Stadacona, wherewith because we did haunt their company, we were so infected, that there died 25 of our company.

Chap. 13.

IN the moneth of December, wee understood that the pestilence was come among the people of Stadacona, in such sort, that before we knew of it, according to their confession, there were dead above 50: whereupon we charged them neither to come neere our Fort, nor about our ships, or us. And albeit we had driven them from us, the said unknowen sicknes began to spread itselfe amongst us after the strangest sort that ever was eyther heard of or seene, insomuch as some did lose all their strength, and could not stand on their feete, then did their legges swel, their sinnowes shrinke as blacke as any cole. Others also had all their skins spotted with spots of blood of a purple coulour: then did it ascend up to their ankels, knees, thighes, shoulders, armes, and necke: their mouth became stincking, their gummes so rotten, that all the flesh did fall off, even to the rootes of the teeth, which

[III. 226.]

did also almost all fall out. With such infection did this sicknesse spread it selfe in our three ships, that about the middle of February, of a hundreth and tenne persons that we were, there were not ten whole, so that one could not helpe the other, a most horrible and pitifull case, considering the place we were in, forsomuch as the people of the countrey would dayly come before our fort, and saw but few of us. There were alreadie eight dead, and more then fifty sicke, and as we thought, past all hope of recovery. Our Captaine seeing this our misery, & that the sicknesse was gone so farre, ordained and commanded, that every one should devoutly prepare himselfe to prayer, and in remembrance of Christ, caused his Image to be set upon a tree, about a flight shot from the fort amidst the yce and snow, giving all men to understand, that on the Sunday following, service should be said there, and that whosoever could goe, sicke or whole, should goe thither in Procession, singing the seven Psalmes of David, with other Letanies, praying most heartily that it would please the said our Christ to have compassion upon us. Service being done, and as well celebrated as we could, our Captaine there made a vow, that if it would please God to give him leave to returne into France, he would go on Pilgrimage to our Ladie of Rocquemado. That day Philip Rougemont, borne in Amboise, died, being 22 yeeres olde, and because the sickenesse was to us unknowen, our Captaine caused him to be ripped to see if by any meanes possible we might know what it was, and so seeke meanes to save and preserve the rest of the company: he was found to have his heart white, but rotten, and more then a quart of red water about it: his liver was indifferent faire, but his lungs blacke and mortified, his blood was altogither shrunke about the heart, so that when he was opened great quantitie of rotten blood issued out from about his heart: his milt toward the backe was somewhat perished, rough as if it had bene rubbed against a stone. Moreover, because one of his thighs was very blacke without, it was

opened, but within it was whole and sound: that done, as well as we could he was buried. In such sort did the sicknesse continue and encrease, that there were not above three sound men in the ships, and none was able to goe under hatches to draw drinke for himselfe, nor for his fellowes. Sometimes we were constrained to bury some of the dead under the snow, because we were not able to digge any graves for them the ground was so hard frozen, and we so weake. Besides this, we did greatly feare that the people of the countrey would perceive our weakenesse and miserie, which to hide, our Captaine, whom it pleased God alwayes to keepe in health, would go out with two or three of the company, some sicke and some whole, whom when he saw out of the Fort, he would throw stones at them and chide them, faigning that so soone as he came againe, he would beate them, and then with signes shewe the people of the countrey that hee caused all his men to worke and labour in the ships, some in calking them, some in beating of chalke, some in one thing, and some in another, and that he would not have them come foorth till their worke was done. And to make his tale seeme true and likely, he would make all his men whole & sound to make a great noyse with knocking stickes, stones, hammers, and other things togither, at which time we were so oppressed and grieved with that sicknesse, that we had lost all hope ever to see France againe, if God of his infinite goodnesse and mercie had not with his pitifull eye looked upon us, and revealed a singular and excellent remedie against all diseases unto us, the best that ever was found upon earth, as hereafter shall follow.

How long we stayed in the Port of the holy Crosse amidst the snow and yce, and how many died of the said disease, from the beginning of it to the midst of March.

Chap. 14.

FRom the midst of November untill the midst of March, we were kept in amidst the yce above two fadomes thicke, and snow above foure foote high and more, higher then the sides of our ships, which lasted till that time, in such sort, that all our drinkes were frozen in the Vessels, and the yce through all the ships was above a hand-breadth thicke, as well above hatches as beneath, and so much of the river as was fresh, even to Hochelaga, was frozen, in which space there died five and twentie of our best and chiefest men, and all the rest were so sicke, that wee thought they should never recover againe, only three or foure excepted. Then it pleased God to cast his pitifull eye upon us, and sent us the knowledge of remedie of our healthes and recoverie, in such maner as in the next Chapter shall be shewed.

How by the grace of God we had notice of a certaine tree, whereby we all recovered our health: and the maner how to use it. [III. 227.]

Chap. 15.

OUr Captaine considering our estate (and how that sicknesse was encreased and hot amongst us) one day went foorth of the Forte, and walking upon the yce, hee saw a troupe of those Countreymen comming from Stadacona, among which was Domagaia, who not passing ten or twelve dayes afore, had bene very sicke with that disease, and had his knees swolne as bigge as a child of two yeres old, all his sinews shrunke together, his teeth spoyled, his gummes rotten, and stinking. Our Captaine seeing him whole and sound, was thereat marvellous glad, hoping to understand and

know of him how he had healed himselfe, to the end he might ease and help his men. So soone as they were come neere him, he asked Domagaia how he had done to heale himselfe: he answered, that he had taken the juice and sappe of the leaves of a certaine Tree, and therewith had healed himselfe: For it was a singular remedy against that disease. Then our Captaine asked of him if any were to be had thereabout, desiring him to shew him, for to heale a servant of his, who whilest he was in Canada with Donnacona, was striken with that disease: That he did because he would not shew the number of his sicke men. Domagaia straight sent two women to fetch some of it, which brought ten or twelve branches of it, and therewithall shewed the way how to use it, and that is thus, to take the barke and leaves of the sayd tree, and boile them together, then to drinke of the sayd decoction every other day, and to put the dregs of it upon his legs that is sicke: moreover, they told us, that the vertue of that tree was, to heale any other disease: the tree is in their language called Ameda or Hanneda, this is thought to be the Sassafras tree. Our Captain presently caused some of that drink to be made for his men to drink of it, but there was none durst tast of it, except one or two, who ventured the drinking of it, only to tast & prove it: the other seeing that did the like, and presently recovered their health, and were delivered of that sickenes, & what other disease soever, in such sorte, that there were some had bene diseased and troubled with the French Pockes foure or five yeres, and with this drinke were cleane healed. After this medicine was found and proved to be true, there was such strife about it, who should be first to take of it, that they were ready to kill one another, so that a tree as big as any Oake in France was spoiled and lopped bare, and occupied all in five or sixe daies, and it wrought so wel, that if all the phisicians of Mountpelier and Lovaine had bene there with all the drugs of Alexan-

A perfect remedy against the French Pocks.

dria, they would not have done so much in one yere, as that tree did in sixe dayes, for it did so prevaile, that as many as used of it, by the grace of God recovered their health.

How the Lord Donnacona accompanied with Taignoagny and divers others, faining that they would goe to hunt Stags, and Deere, taried out two moneths, and at their returne brought a great multitude of people with them, that we were not wont to see before.

Chap. 16.

WHile that disease lasted in our ships, the lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, with many others went from home, faining that they would goe to catch Stags and Deere, which are in their tongue called Ajounesta, and Asquenoudo, because the yce and snow was not so broken along the river that they could sayle: it was told us of Domagaia and others, that they would stay out but a fortnight, & we beleeved it, but they stayed above two moneths, which made us mistrust that they had bene gone to raise the countrey to come against us, and do us some displeasure, we seeing our selves so weake & faint. Albeit we had used such diligence and policie in our Fort, that if all the power of the countrey had bene about it, they could have done nothing but looke upon us: and whilest they were foorth, many of the people came dayly to our ships, and brought us fresh meat, as Stags, Deere, fishes, with divers other things, but held them at such an excessive price, that rather then they would sell them any thing cheape, many times they would carie them backe againe, because that yere the Winter was very long, and they had some scarcity and neede of them. *A long winter.*

[How Donnacona

How Donnacona came to Stadacona againe with a great number of people, and because he would not come to visit our Captaine, fained himself to be sore sicke, which he did only to have the Captaine come see him.

Chap. 17.

ON the one and twentieth day of April Domagaia came to the shore side, accompanied with divers lusty and strong men, such as we were not wont to
[III. 228.] see, and tolde us that their lord Donnacona would the next day come and see us, and bring great store of Deeres flesh, and other things with him. The next day he came and brought a great number of men to Stadacona, to what end, and for what cause wee knew not, but (as the proverb sayth) he that takes heede and shields himselfe from all men, may hap to scape from some: for we had need to looke about us, considering how in number we were diminished, and in strength greatly weakned, both by reason of our sicknesse and also of the number that were dead, so that we were constrained to leave one of our ships in the Port of the Holy Crosse. Our Captaine was warned of their comming, and how they had brought a great number of men with them, for Domagaia came to tell it us, and durst not passe the river that was betwixt Stadacona and us, as he was wont to doe, whereupon we mistrusted some treason. Our Captaine seeing this, sent one of his servants to them, accompanied with John Poulet being best beloved of those people, to see who were there, and what they did. The sayd Poulet & the other fained themselves onely to be come to visit Donnacona, & bring him certaine presents, because they had beene together a good while in the sayd Donnaconas Towne. So soone as he heard of their comming, he got himselfe to bed, faining to bee very sicke. That done, they went to Taignoagny his house to see him, and wheresoever they went, they saw so many people, that in a maner one

could not stirre for another, and such men as they were never wont to see. Taignoagny would not permit our men to enter into any other houses, but still kept them company, and brought them halfe way to their ships, and tolde them that if it would please our captaine to shew him so much favour as to take a Lord of the Countrey, whose name was Agonna, of whom hee had received some displeasure, and carie him with him into France, he should therefore for ever be bound unto him, and would doe for him whatsoever hee would command him, and bade the servant come againe the next day, and bring an answere. Our Captain being advertised of so many people that were there, not knowing to what end, purposed to play a prettie prancke, that is to say, to take their Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and some more of the chiefest of them prisoners, in so much as before hee had purposed, to bring them into France, to shew unto our King what he had seene in those Westerne parts, and marvels of the world, for that Donnacona had told us, that he had bene in the Countrey of Saguenay, in which are infinite Rubies, Gold, and other riches, and that there are white men, who clothe themselves with woollen cloth even as we doe in France. Moreover he reported, that hee had bene in another countrey of a people called Picquemians, and other strange people. The sayd Lord was an olde man, and even from his childehood had never left off nor ceased from travailing into strange Countreys, as well by water and rivers, as by lande. The sayd Poulet, and the other having tolde our Captaine their Embassage, and shewed him what Taignoagny his will was, the next day he sent his servant againe to bid Taignoagny come and see him, and shewe what hee should, for he should be very well entertained, and also part of his will should be accomplished. Taignoagny sent him word, that the next day hee would come and bring the Lord Donnacona with him, and him that had so offended him, which hee did not, but stayed two dayes, in which time none came from Stadacona to

Rubies, Gold, and woolen cloth with other riches in Saguenay.

A people called Picquemians.

our shippes, as they were wont to doe, but rather fled from us, as if we would have slaine them, so that then wee plainely perceived their knavery.

The towne of Sidatin.

But because they understood, that those of Sidatin did frequent our company, and that we had forsaken the bottome of a ship which we would leave, to have the olde nailes out of it, the third day following they came from Stadacona, and most of them without difficulty did passe from one side of the river to the other with small Skiffes: but Donnacona would not come over: Taignoagny, and Domagaia stood talking together above an houre before they would come over, at last they came to speake with our Captaine. There Taignoagny prayed him that hee would cause the foresayd man to be taken and caried into France. Our Captaine refused to doe it, saying, that his King had forbidden him to bring any man or woman into France, onely that he might bring two or three yong boyes to learne the language, but that he would willingly cary him to Newfoundland, and there leave him in an Island. Our Captaine spake this, onely to assure them, that they should bring Donnacona with them, whom they had left on the other side: which wordes, when Taignoagny heard, hee was very glad, thinking hee should never returne into France againe, and therefore promised to come the next day, which was the day of the Holy Crosse, and to bring Donnacona and all the people with him.

[III. 229.] How that upon Holyrood day our Captaine caused a Crosse to be set up in our Forte: and how the Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and others of their company came: and of the taking of the sayd Lord.

Chap. 18.

THe third of May being Holyroode day, our Captaine for the solemnitie of the day, caused a goodly fayre crosse of 35 foote in height to bee set up, under the crosset of which hee caused a shield to be hanged,

wherein were the Armes of France, and over them was written in antique letters, Franciscus primus Dei gratia Francorum Rex regnat. And upon that day about noone, there came a great number of the people of Stadacona, men, women, and children, who told us that their Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia were comming, whereof we were very glad, hoping to retaine them. About two of the clocke in the afternoone they came, & being come neere our ships, our Captaine went to salute Donnacona, who also shewed him a mery countenance, albeit very fearefully his eyes were still bent toward the wood. Shortly after came Taignoagny, who bade Donnacona that he should not enter into our Forte, and therefore fire was brought forth by one of our men, & kindled where their Lord was. Our Captaine prayed him to come into our ships to eate & drinke as hee was wont to do, and also Taignoagny, who promised, that after a while he would come, and so they did, & entred into our ships: but first it was told our Captain by Domagaia that Taignoagny had spoken ill of him, & that he had bid Donnacona hee should not come aboord our ships. Our Captaine perceiving that, came out of the Forte, and saw that onely by Taignoagny his warning the women ran away, and none but men stayed in great number, wherefore he straight commanded his men to lay hold on Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, & two more of the chiefest whom he pointed unto: then he commanded them to make the other to retire. Presently after, the said lord entred into the Fort with the Captaine, but by & by Taignoagny came to make him come out againe. Our Captaine seeing that there was no other remedy, began to call unto them to take them, at whose crie and voice all his men came forth, and tooke the sayd Lord with the others, whom they had appointed to take. The Canadians seeing their Lord taken, began to run away, even as sheepe before the woolfe, some crossing over the river, some through the woods, each one seeking for his owne advantage. That

Donnacona, Taignoagny, & Domagaia taken.

done, we retired our selves, and laid up the prisoners under good guard and safety.

How the said Canadians the night following came before our ships to seeke their men, crying and howling all night like Woolves: of the talke and conclusion they agreed upon the next day: and of the gifts which they gave our Captaine.

Chap. 19.

THe night following they came before our ships, (the river being betwixt us) striking their breasts, and crying and howling like woolves, still calling Agouhanna, thinking to speake with him, which our Captaine for that time would not permit, neither all the next day till noone, whereupon they made signes unto us, that we had hanged or killed him. About noone, there came as great a number in a cluster, as ever we saw, who went to hide themselves in the Forest, except some, who with a loud voice would call and crie to Donnacona to speake unto them. Our Captaine then commanded Donnacona to be brought up on high to speake unto them, and bade him be merrie, for after he had spoken, and shewed unto the King of France what hee had seene in Saguenay and other countreys, after ten or twelve moneths, he should returne againe, and that the King of France would give him great rewards, whereat Donnacona was very glad, and speaking to the others, told it them, who in token of joy, gave out three great cryes, and then Donnacona and his people had great talke together, which for want of interpreters, cannot be described. Our Captaine bade Donnacona that hee should cause them to come to the other side of the river, to the end they might better talke together without any feare, & that he should assure them: which Donnacona did, and there came a boate full of the chiefest of them to the ships, and there anew began to talke together, giving great praise to our captaine, and gave him a present of foure and twenty chaines of Esurgny, for that is the greatest

Foure and twenty chains of Esurgny

and preciousest riches they have in this world, for they esteeme more of that, then of any gold or silver. After they had long talked together, and that their Lord sawe that there was no remedy to avoide his going into France, hee commanded his people the next day, to bring him some victuals to serve him by the way. Our Captaine gave Donnacona, as a great present, two Frying pannes of copper, eight Hatchets, and other small trifles, as Knives, and Beades, whereof hee seemed to be very glad, who sent them to his wives and children. Likewise, he [III. 230.] gave to them that came to speake with Donacona, they thanked him greatly for them, and then went to their lodgings.

How the next day, being the fift of May, the sayd people came againe to speake unto their Lord, and how foure women came to the shore to bring him victuals.

Chap. 20.

UPon the fifth of May, very early in the morning, a great number of the sayd people came againe to speake unto their Lord, and sent a Boate, which in their tongue they call Casnoni, wherein were onely foure women, without any man, for feare their men should be retained.

These women brought great store of victuals, as great Millet, which is their corne that they live withall, flesh, fish, and other things, after their fashion.

These women being come to our shippes, our Captaine did very friendly entertaine them. Then Donnacona prayed our Captaine to tell those women that hee should come againe after ten or twelve moneths, and bring Donnacona to Canada with him: this hee sayd onely to appease them, which our captaine did: wherefore the women, as well by words as signes, seemed to be very glad, giving our Captaine thanks, and told him, if he came againe, and brought Donnacona with him, they would give him many things: in signe whereof, each one gave our Captaine a chaine of Esurgny, and then passed

to the other side of the river againe, where stood all the people of Stadacona, who taking all leave of their Lord, went home againe. On Saturday following, being the sixt of the moneth, we departed out of the sayd Port of Santa Croix, and came to harborough a little beneath the Island of Orleans, about twelve leagues from the Port of the Holy Crosse, and upon Sonday we came to the Island of Filberds, where wee stayed untill the sixteenth of that moneth, till the fiercenesse of the waters were past, which at that time ranne too swift a course, and were too dangerous to come downe along the river, and therefore we stayed till faire weather came. In the meane while many of Donnaconas subjects came from the river of Saguenay to him, but being by Domagaia advertised, that their Lord was taken to bee caryed into France, they were all amazed: yet for all that they would not leave to come to our ships, to speake to Donnacona, who told them that after twelve moneths he should come againe, and that he was very well used by the Captaine, Gentlemen, and Mariners. Which when they heard, they greatly thanked our Captaine and gave their Lord three bundles of Beavers, and sea Woolves skinnes, with a great knife of red copper that commeth from Saguenay, and other things. They gave also to our Captaine a chayne of Esurgny, for which our Captaine gave them ten or twelve Hatchets, and they gave him hearty thankes, and were very well contented. The next day, being the sixteenth of May, we hoysed sayle, and came from the said Island of Filberds, to another about fifteene leagues from it, which is about five leagues in length, and there, to the end we might take some rest the night following, we stayed that day, in hope the next day we might passe and avoide the dangers of the river of Saguenay, which are great. That evening we went aland and found great store of Hares, of which we tooke a great many, and therefore we called it The Island of Hares: in the night there arose a contrary winde, with such stormes and tempest, that wee were constrained to

The Isle of Orleans.

Isle de Coudres.

A knife of red copper brought from Saguenay.

The Isle of Hares.

returne to the Island of Filberds againe, from whence wee were come, because there was none other passage among the sayde Islandes, and there we stayed till the one and twentieth of that moneth, till faire weather and good winde came againe: and then wee sayled againe, and that so prosperously, that we passed to Honguedo, which passage untill that time had not bene discovered: wee caused our ships to course athwart Cape Prat which is the beginning of the Port of Chaleur: and because the winde was good and convenient, we sayled all day and all night without staying, and the next day we came to the middle of Brions Island, which we were not minded to doe, to the end wee might shorten our way. These two lands lie Northwest, and Southeast, and are about fiftie leagues one from another. The sayd Island is in latitude 47 degrees and a halfe. Upon Thursday being the twenty sixe of the moneth, and the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, we coasted over to a land and shallow of lowe sandes, which are about eight leagues Southwest from Brions Island, above which are large Champaines, full of trees and also an enclosed sea, whereas we could neither see, nor perceive any gappe or way to enter thereinto. On Friday following, being the 27 of the moneth, because the wind did change on the coast, we came to Brions Island againe, where wee stayed till the beginning of June, and toward the Southeast of this Island, wee sawe a lande, seeming unto us as an Island, we coasted it about two leagues and a halfe, and by the way we had notice of three other high Islands, lying toward the Sands: after wee had knowen these things we returned to the Cape of the sayd land, which doeth devide it selfe into two or three very high Capes: the waters there are very deepe, and the flood of the sea runneth so swift, that it cannot possibly be swifter. That day we came to Cape Loreine, which is in forty seven degrees and a halfe toward the South: on which cape there is a low land, and it seemeth that there is some entrance of a river, but there is no haven of any worth.

The Isle of Brion.

[III. 231.]

Above these lands we saw another cape toward the South, we named it Saint Paules Cape, it is at 47 degrees and a quarter.

The Sonday following, being the fourth of June, and Whitsonday, wee had notice of the coaste lying East-southeast, distant from the Newfoundland about two and twenty leagues: and because the wind was against us, wee went to a Haven, which wee named S. Spiritus Porte, where we stayed till Tewesday that we departed thence, sayling along that coast untill wee came to Saint Peters Islands. Wee found along the sayd coast many very dangerous Islands and shelves, which lye all in the way Eastsoutheast and Westnorthwest, about three and twenty leagues into the sea. Whilest we were in the sayd Saint Peters Islands we met with many ships of France and of Britaine, wee stayed there from Saint Barnabas day, being the eleventh of the moneth, until the sixteenth that we departed thence & came to Cape Rase, and entred into a Port called Rognoso, where wee tooke in fresh water, and wood to passe the sea: there wee left one of our boates. Then upon Monday, being the nineteenth of June, we went from that Port, and with such good and prosperous weather we sailed along the sea, in such sorte, that upon the sixt of July 1536 we came to the Porte of S. Malo, by the grace of God, to whom we pray, here ending our Navigation, that of his infinite mercy he will grant us his grace and favour, and in the end bring us to the place of everlasting felicitie. Amen.

Here followeth the language of the countrey, and kingdomes of Hochelaga and Canada, of us called New France: But first the names of their numbers.

Secada	1	Indahir	6
Tigneni	2	Aiaga	7
Hasche	3	Addigue	8
Hannaion	4	Madellon	9
Oviscon	5	Assem	10

Here follow the names of the chiefest partes of man, and other words necessary to be knowen.

the Head	aggonzi	God	cudragny
the Browe	hegueniascon	give me somedrink	quazahoaquea
the Eyes	higata		
the Eares	abontascon	give me to breakfast	quaso hoa quascaboa
the Mouth	esahe		
the Teeth	esgongay	givememy supper	quaza hoa quatfriam
the Tongue	osnache		
the Throat	agonhon	let us goe to bed	casigno ag- nydahoa
the Beard	hebelim		
the Face	hegouascon	a Man	aguehum
the Haires	aganiscon	a woman	agruaste
the Armes	ajayascon	a Boy	addegesta
the Flanckes	aissonne	a Wench	agniaquesta
theStomacke	aggruascon	a Child	exiasta
the Bellie	eschehenda	a Gowne	cabata
the Thighes	hetnegradas-con	a Dublet	caioza
		Hosen	hemondoha
the Knees	agochine-godascon	Shooes	atha
		a Shirt	amgoua
the Legges	agouguene-honde	a Cappe	castrua
		Corne	osizi
the Feete	onchidascon	Bread	carraconny [III. 232.]
the Hands	aignoascon	Water	ame
the Fingers	agenoga	Flesh	quahouascon
the Nailes	agedascon	Reisins	queion
a Mans member	ainoascon	Damsons	honnesta
		Figges	absconda
a Womans member	castaigne	Grapes	ozoba
		Nuttes	quahoya
an Eele	esgueny	a Hen	sahomgahoa
a Snaile	undeguezi	a Lamprey	zisto
a Tortois	heuleuxima	a Salmon	ondacon
Woods	conda	a Whale	ainne honne
leaves of Trees	hoga	a Goose	sadeguenda
		a Streete	adde

Cucumber seede	casconda	a Darte	quahetan
to Morrowe	achide	let us goe a hunting	Casigno donnascat
the Heaven	quenhia	a Stagge	aionnesta
the Earth	damga	a Sheepe	asquenondo
the Sunne	ysmay	a Hare	Sourhanda
the Moone	assomaha	a Dogge	agaya
the Starres	stagnehoham	a Towne	canada
the Winde	cohoha	the Sea	agogasy
goodmorrow	aignag	the waves of the sea	coda
let us go to play	casigno caudy	an Island	cohena
come & speak with me	assigniquaddadia	an Hill	agacha
looke upon me	quagathoma	the yce	honnesca
hold your peace	aista	Snow	camsa
let us go with ye boat	casigno casnovy	Colde	athau
give me a knife	buazahca agoheda	Hotte	odazani
a Hatchet	adogne	Fier	azista
a Bow	ahenca	Smoke	quea
		a House	canoca
		Beanes	sahe
		Cinnamom	adhotathny
		my Father	addathy
		my Mother	adanahoe
		my Brother	addagrim
		my Sister	adhoasseve

They of Canada say, that it is a moneths sayling to goe to a lande where Cinnamom and Cloves are gathered.

Here endeth the Relation of James Cartiers discovery and Navigation to the Newfoundlands, by him named New France.

The third voyage of discovery made by Captaine Jaques Cartier, 1540. unto the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay.

KIng Francis the first having heard the report of Captaine Cartier his Pilot generall in his two former Voyages of discovery, as well by writing as by word of mouth, touching that which hee had found and seene in the Westerne partes discovered by him in the parts of Canada and Hochelaga, and having also seene and talked with the people, which the sayd Cartier had brought out of those Countreys, whereof one was king of Canada, whose name was Donnacona, and others: which after that they had bene a long time in France and Britaine, were baptized at their owne desire and request, and died in the sayd countrey of Britaine. And albeit his Majestie was advertized by the sayd Cartier of the death and decease of all the people which were brought over by him (which were tenne in number) saving one little girle about tenne yeeres old, yet he resolved to send the sayd Cartier his Pilot thither againe, with John Francis de la Roche, Knight, Lord of Roberval, whome hee appointed his Lieutenant and Governour in the Countreys of Canada and Hochelaga, and the sayd Cartier Captaine generall and leader of the shippes, that they might discover more then was done before in the former voyages, and attaine (if it were possible) unto the knowledge of the Countrey of Saguenay, whereof the people brought by Cartier, as is declared, made mention unto the King, that there were great riches, and very good countreys. And the King caused a certaine summe of money to be delivered to furnish out the sayd voyage with five shippes: which thing was perfourmed by the sayd Monsieur Roberval and Cartier. After that they had agreed together to rigge the sayd five ships at Saint Malo in Britaine, where the two

Ten Savages brought into France.

John Francis de la Roche, lord of Roberval.

Great riches & very good soile in Saguenay, which is beyond ye saults.

[III. 233.] former voyages had beene prepared and set forth. And the said Monsieur Roberval sent Cartier thither for the same purpose. And after that Cartier had caused the said five ships to bee built and furnished and set in good order, Monsieur Roberval came downe to S. Malo and found the ships fallen downe to the roade, with their yards acrosse full ready to depart and set saile, staying for nothing else but the comming of the Generall, and the payment of the furniture. And because Monsieur Roberval the kings lieutenant had not as yet his artillery, powder and munitions, and other things necessary come downe, which he had provided for the voyage, in the Countreys of Champaigne and Normandie: and because the said things were very necessary, and that hee was loth to depart without them, he determined to depart from S. Malo to Roan, and to prepare a ship or two at Honfleur, whither he thought his things were come: And that the said Cartier shoulde depart with the five shippes which he had furnished, and should goe before. Considering also that the said Cartier had received letters from the king, whereby hee did expresly charge him to depart and set sayle immediatly upon the sight and receit thereof, on payne of incurring his displeasure, and to lay all the fault on him. And after the conclusion of these things, and the said Monsieur Roberval had taken muster and view of the gentlemen, souldiers, and mariners which were retained and chosen for the performance of the sayd voyage, hee gave unto Captaine Cartier full authoritie to depart and goe before, and to governe all things as if he had bene there in person: and himselfe departed to Honfleur to make his farther preparation. After these things thus dispatched, the winde comming faire, the foresayd five ships set sayle together well furnished and victualled for two yeere, the 23. of May, 1540. And we sailed so long with contrary winds and continuall torments, which fell out by reason of our late departure, that wee were on the sea with our sayd five ships full three moneths before wee could arrive at the Port and Haven

The kings letters to Cartier.

23. of May, 1540.

The great mischiefe of leesing the season.

of Canada, without ever having in all that time 30 houres of good wind to serve us to keepe our right course: so that our five shippes through those stormes lost company one of another, all save two that kept together, to wit that wherein the Captaine was, and the other wherein went the Vicount of Beaupre, untill at length at the ende of one moneth wee met all together at the Haven of Carpont in Newfoundland. But the length of time which we were in passing betweene Britayne and Newfoundland was the cause that we stood in great need of water, because of the cattell, aswell Goates, Hogges, as other beastes which we caried for breede in the Countrey, which wee were constrained to water with Sider and other drinke. Now therefore because we were the space of three moneths in sayling on the sea, and staying in Newfoundland, wayting for Monsieur Roberval, and taking in of fresh water and other things necessary, wee arrived not before the Haven of Saincte Croix in Canada, (where in the former voyage we had remayned eight moneths) untill the 23. day of August. In which place the people of the Countrey came to our shippes, making shew of joy for our arrivall, and namely he came thither which had the rule and government of the Countrey of Canada, named Agona, which was appointed king there by Donacona, when in the former voyage we carried him into France: And hee came to the Captaines ship with 6. or 7. boates, and with many women and children. And after the sayd Agona had inquired of the Captaine where Donacona and the rest were, the Captaine answered him, That Donacona was dead in France, and that his body rested in the earth, and that the rest stayed there as great Lords, and were maried, and would not returne backe into their Countrey: the said Agona made no shewe of anger at all these speeches: and I thinke he tooke it so well because he remained Lord and Governour of the countrey by the death of the said Donacona. After which conference the said Agona tooke a piece of tanned leather of a yellow skin edged about with Esnoguy (which is their riches and

Carpont Haven.

Transporting of divers sorts of cattell for breed.

The 23. of August.

The new king of Canada.

the thing which they esteeme most precious, as wee esteeme gold) which was upon his head in stead of a crowne, and he put the same on the head of our Captaine, and tooke from his wrists two bracelets of Esnoguy, and put them upon the Captaines armes, colling him about the necke and shewing unto him great signes of joy: which was all dissimulation, as afterward it wel appeared. The captaine tooke his said crowne of leather and put it againe upon his head, and gave him and his wives certaine smal presents, signifying unto him, that he had brought certaine new things, which afterward he would bestow upon him: for which the sayd Agona thanked the Captaine. And after that he had made him and his company eat and drinke, they departed and returned to the shore with their boates. After which things the sayd Captaine went with two of his boates up the river, beyond Canada and the Port of Saincte Croix, to view a Haven and a small river, which is about 4. leagues higher: which he found better and more commodious to ride in and lay his ships, then the former. And therefore he returned and caused all his ships to be brought before the sayd river, and at a lowe water he caused his Ordinance to bee planted to place his ships in more safetie, which he meant to keepe and stay in the Countrey, which were three: which hee did the day following, and the rest remayned in the roade in the middest of the river (In which place the victuals and other furniture were discharged, which they had brought) from the 26. of August untill the second of September, what time they departed to returne for S. Malo, in which ships he sent backe Mace Jolloberte his brother in lawe, and Steven Noel his Nephew, skilfull and excellent pilots, with letters unto the king, and to advertise him what had bene done and found: and how Monsieur de Roberval was not yet come, and that hee feared that by occasion of contrary winds and tempests he was driven backe againe into France.

Great dissimulation of a Savage.

A good roade 4. leagues above Saincte Croix.

[III. 234.]

The description of the aforesaid River and Haven.

THe sayd River is small, not past 50. pases broad, and shippes drawing three fathoms water may enter in at a full sea: and at a low water there is nothing but a chanell of a foote deepe or thereabout. On both sides of the said River there are very good and faire grounds, full of as faire and mightie trees as any be in the world, and divers sorts, which are above tenne fathoms higher then the rest, and there is one kind of tree above three fathoms about, which they in the Countrey call Hanneda, which hath the most excellent vertue of all the trees of the world, whereof I will make mention hereafter. Moreover there are great store of Okes the most excellent that ever I saw in my life, which were so laden with Mast that they cracked againe: besides this there are fairer Arables, Cedars, Beeches, and other trees, then grow in France: and hard unto this wood on the South side the ground is all covered with Vines, which we found laden with grapes as blacke as Mulberies, but they be not so kind as those of France because the Vines bee not tilled, and because they grow of their owne accord. Moreover there are many white Thornes, which beare leaves as bigge as oken leaves, and fruit like unto Medlers. To bee short, it is as good a Countrey to plow and mannure as a man should find or desire. We sowed seedes here of our Countrey, as Cabages, Naveaus, Lettises and others, which grew and sprong up out of the ground in eight dayes. The mouth of the river is toward the South, and it windeth Northward like unto a snake: and at the mouth of it toward the East there is a high and steepe cliffe, where we made a way in maner of a payre of staires, and aloft we made a Fort to keepe the nether Fort and the ships, and all things that might passe aswell by the great as by this small river. Moreover a man may behold a great extension of ground apt for tillage, straite and handsome and somewhat enclining toward the South, as easie to be brought to tillage as

Trees above 3. fathoms about.

Hanneda the most excellent tree of the world.

Abundance of Vines full of grapes.

Fruit like Medlers.

Seed sprong out of the ground within 8 dayes.

A great plaine of very good arable ground.

I would desire, and very well replenished with faire Okes and other trees of great beauty, no thicker then the Forrests of France. Here wee set twenty men to worke, which in one day had laboured about an acre and an halfe of the said ground, and sowed it part with Naveaus or small Turneps, which at the ende of eight dayes, as I said before, sprang out of the earth. And upon that high cliffe wee found a faire fountaine very neere the sayd Fort: adjoyning whereunto we found good store of stones, which we esteemed to be Diamants. On the other side of the said mountaine and at the foote thereof, which is towards the great River is all along a goodly Myne of the best yron in the world, and it reacheth even hard unto our Fort, and the sand which we tread on is perfect refined Myne, ready to be put into the fornace. And on the waters side we found certaine leaves of fine gold as thicke as a mans nayle. And Westward of the said River there are, as hath bene sayd, many faire trees: and toward the water a goodly Medow full of as faire and goodly grasse as ever I sawe in any Medowe in France: and betweene the sayd Medow and the Wood are great store of Vines: and beyond the said Vines the land groweth full of Hempe which groweth of it selfe, which is as good as possibly may be seene, and as strong. And at the ende of the sayd Medow within an hundred pases there is a rising ground, which is of a kind of slate stone blacke and thicke, wherein are veines of mynerall matter, which shewe like gold and silver: and throughout all that stone there are great graines of the sayd Myne. And in some places we have found stones like Diamants, the most faire, pollished and excellently cut that it is possible for a man to see, when the Sun shineth upon them, they glister as it were sparkles of fire.

Diamants of Canada.

An yron Mine.

Leaves of fine gold as thicke as a mans naile found in Canada.

Excellent and strong hempe.

How after the departure of the two shippes which were sent backe into Britaine, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, the Captaine prepared two boates to goe up the great River to discover the passage of the three Saults or falles of the River.

THE sayd Captaine having dispatched two ships to returne to carry newes, according as hee had in charge from the king, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, for preservation of their victuals and other things, determined with the Vicount of Beaupre, and other Gentlemen, Masters, and Pilots chosen for counsayle, to make a voyage with two boates furnished with men and victuals to goe as farre as Hochelaga, of purpose to view and understand the fashion of the Saults of water, which are to be passed to goe to Saguenay, that hee might be the readier in the spring to passe farther, and in the Winter time to make all things needefull in a readinesse for their businesse. The foresaid boates being made ready, the Captaine and Martine de Painpont, with other Gentlemen and the remnant of the Mariners departed from the sayd place of Charlesburg Royal the seventh day of September in the yeere aforesayd 1540. And the Vicount of Beaupre stayed behind for the garding and governement of all things in the Fort. And as they went up the river, the Captaine went to see the Lord of Hochelay, which dwelleth betweene Canada and Hochelaga: which in the former voyage had given unto the said Captaine a little girle, and had oftentimes enformed him of the treasons which Taignoagny and Domagaya (whom the Captaine in his former voyage had caried into France) would have wrought against him. In regard of which his curtesie the said Captaine would not passe by without visiting of him, and to let him understand that the Captaine thought himselfe beholding unto him, hee gave unto him two yong boyes,

[III. 235.] *The Vicount of Beaupre and the rest of their councell.*

The rich countrey of Saguenay situated beyond the Saults which are in 44. deg. They depart from Charlesburg Royal the 7. of Septem.

and left them with him to learne their language, and bestowed upon him a cloake of Paris red, which cloake was set with yealow and white buttons of Tinne, and small belles. And withall hee gave him two Basins of Laton, and certaine hachets and knives: whereat the sayde Lord seemed highly to rejoyce, and thanked the Captaine. This done, the Captaine and his company departed from that place: And wee sailed with so prosperous a wind, that we arrived the eleventh day of the moneth at the first Sault of water, which is two leagues distant from the Towne of Tutonaguy. And after wee were arrived there, wee determined to goe and passe as farre up as it was possible with one of the boates, and that the other should stay there till it returned: and wee double manned her to rowe up against the course or streame of the sayde Sault. And after wee had passed some part of the way from our other boate, wee found badde ground and great rockes, and so great a current, that wee could not possibly passe any further with our Boate. And the Captaine resolved to goe by land to see the nature and fashion of the Sault. And after that we were come on shore, wee founde hard by the water side a way and beaten path going toward the sayde Saultes, by which wee tooke our way. And on the sayd way, and soone after we found an habitation of people which made us great cheere, and entertained us very friendly. And after that he had signified unto them, that wee were going toward the Saults, and that wee desired to goe to Saguenay, foure yong men went along with us to shewe us the way, and they brought us so farre that wee came to another village or habitation of good people, which dwell over against the second Sault, which came and brought us of their victuals, as Pottage and Fish, and offered us of the same. After that the Captaine had enquired of them as well by signes as wordes, how many more Saults wee had to passe to goe to Saguenay, and what distance and way it was thither, this people shewed us and gave us to understand, that wee were at the

They delight in red cloth.

The 11 of September.

The Towne of Tutonaguy.

Bad ground and a great current.

A Towne of friendly people.

Another village of good people which dwell over against the second Sault.

second Sault, and that there was but one more to passe, that the River was not navigable to goe to Saguenay, and that the sayd Sault was but a third part farther then we had travailed, shewing us the same with certaine little stickes, which they layd upon the ground in a certaine distance, and afterward layde other small branches betweene both, representing the Saults. And by the sayde marke, if their saying be true, it can be but sixe leagues by land to passe the sayd Saults.

They were at the second Sault.

The river not navigable to passe to Saguenay.

Here after followeth the figure of the three Saults.

AFter that we had bene advertised by the sayde people, of the things abovementioned, both because the day was farre spent, and we had neither drunke nor eaten the same day, we concluded to returne unto our boats, and we came thither, where we found great store of people to the number of 400. persons or thereabout, which seemed to give us very good entertainment and to rejoyce of our comming: And therefore our Captaine gave eche of them certaine small trifles, as combs, brooches of tynne and copper, and other smal toyes, and unto the chiefe men every one his litle hatchet & hooke, whereat they made certaine cries and ceremonies of joy. But a man must not trust them for all their faire ceremonies and signes of joy, for if they had thought they had bene too strong for us, then would they have done their best to have killed us, as we understood afterward. This being done, we returned with our boats, and passed by the dwelling of the Lord of Hochelay, with whom the Captaine had left the two youths as hee came up the river, thinking to have found him: But hee coulde find no body save one of his sonnes, who tolde the Captaine that hee was gone to Maisouna, as our boyes also told us, saying, that it was two dayes since he departed. But in truth hee was gone to Canada to conclude with Agona, what they should doe against us. And when we were arrived at our Fort, wee understoode by our people, that

400 *persons about their boates.*

Like those of new Albion.

The Savages are great dissemblers.

[III. 236.]

Maisouna.

The Savages conspire together against the French.

the Savages of the Countrey came not any more about our Fort as they were accustomed, to bring us fish, and that they were in a wonderful doubt and feare of us. Wherefore our Captaine, having bene advertised by some of our men which had bene at Stadacona to visite them, that there were a wonderfull number of the Countrey people assembled together, caused all things in our fortresse to bee set in good order: &c.

A very great number of Savages assembled together.

The rest is wanting.

A letter written to M. John Growte student in Paris, by Jaques Noel of S. Malo, the nephew of Jaques Cartier, touching the foresaid discovery.

MAster Growte, your brother in law Giles Walter shewed me this morning a Mappe printed at Paris, dedicated to one M. Hakluyt an English Gentleman: wherein all the West Indies, the kingdome of New Mexico, and the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga and Saguenay are contained. I hold that the River of Canada which is described in that Mappe is not marked as it is in my booke, which is agreeable to the booke of Jaques Cartier: and that the sayd Chart doth not marke or set downe The great Lake, which is above the Saults, according as the Savages have advertised us, which dwell at the sayd Saults. In the foresayd Chart which you sent me hither, the Great Lake is placed too much toward the North. The Saults or falles of the River stand in 44. degrees of latitude: it is not so hard a matter to passe them, as it is thought: The water falleth not downe from any high place, it is nothing else but that in the middest of the River there is bad ground. It were best to build boates above the Saults: and it is easie to march or travell by land to the end of the three Saults: it is not above five leagues journey. I have bene upon the toppe

The Saults are in 44. deg. and easie to passe.

But 5. leagues journey to passe the 3 Saults.

MAP OF THE NEW WORLD, A.D. 1587

DEDICATED TO RICHARD HAKLUYT

of a mountaine, which is at the foot of the Saults, where I have seene the sayd River beyond the sayd Saultes, which shewed unto us to be broader then it was where we passed it. The people of the Countrey advertised us, that there are ten dayes journey from the Saults unto this Great Lake. We know not how many leagues they make to a dayes journey. At this present I cannot write unto you more at large, because the messenger can stay no longer. Here therefore for the present I will ende, saluting you with my hearty commendations, praying God to give you your hearts desire. For S. Malo in haste this 19 day of June. 1587.

Ten dayes journey from the Saults to this great Lake.

Your loving Friend,

Jaques Noel.

COsin, I pray you doe me so much pleasure as to send mee a booke of the discovery of New Mexico, and one of those new Mappes of the West Indies dedicated to M. Hakluyt the English Gentleman, which you sent to your brother in law Giles Walter. I will not faile to informe my selfe, if there be any meane to find out those descriptions which Captaine Cartier made after his two last voyages into Canada.

Underneath the aforesaid unperfite relation that which followeth is written in another letter sent to M. John Growte student in Paris from Jaques Noel of S. Malo, the grand nephew of Jaques Cartier.

Can write nothing else unto you of any thing that I can recover of the writings of Captaine Jaques Cartier my uncle disceased, although I have made search in all places that I could possibly in this Towne: saving of a certaine booke made in maner of a sea Chart, which was drawne by the hand of my said uncle, which is in the possession of master Cremeur: which booke is passing

well marked and drawne for all the River of Canada, whereof I am well assured, because I my self have knowledge thereof as farre as to the Saults, where I have bene: The height of which Saults is in 44. degrees. I found in the sayd Chart beyond the place where the River is divided in twaine in the midst of both the branches of the said river somewhat neerest that arme which runneth toward the Northwest, these words following written in the hand of Jaques Cartier.

The Saults are in the latitude of 44. deg.

By the people of Canada and Hochelaga it was said, That here is the land of Saguenay, which is rich and wealthy in precious stones.

[III. 237.] And about an hundred leagues under the same I found written these two lines following in the said Carde enclining toward the Southwest. Here in this Countrey are Cinamon and Cloves, which they call in their language Canodeta.

Touching the effect of my booke whereof I spake unto you, it is made after the maner of a sea Chart, which I have delivered to my two sonnes Michael and John, which at this present are in Canada. If at their returne, which will be God willing about Magdalene tyde, they have learned any new thing worthy the writing, I will not faile to advertise you thereof.

Your loving Friend, Jaques Noel.

Here followeth the course from Belle Isle, Carpont, and the Grand Bay in Newfoundland up the River of Canada for the space of 230. leagues, observed by John Alphonse of Xanctoigne chiefe Pilote to Monsieur Roberval, 1542.

Elles Isles are in 51 degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. Belles Isles and Carpont are Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, and they are ten leagues distant. Carpont is in 52 degrees. Carpont and Bell Isle from the Grand Bay are Northeast and Southwest, and the distance from Bell Isle to the Grand Bay is 7 leagues. The midst of the Grand Bay is in 52 degrees and a halfe, and on the Northside therof there is a rocke: halfe a league from the Isle, over against Carpont toward the East there is a small flat Island, and on the side toward the Northeast there is a flat rocke. And when thou commest out of the harborough of Carpont thou must leave this rocke on the starreboord side, and also on the larboord side there are two or three small Isles: and when thou commest out on the Northeast side, ranging along the shore toward the West about two pikes length in the midway there is a shold which lieth on thy starboord side: and saile thou by the North coast, and leave two partes of the Grand Bay toward the South; because there is a rocke which runneth 2 or 3 leagues into the sea. And when thou art come athwart the haven of Butes, run along the North shore about one league or an halfe off, for the coast is without all danger: Bell Isle in the mouth of the Grand Bay, and the Isles of Blanc Sablon, which are within the Grand Bay, neere unto the North shore lie Northeast, West and Southwest, & the distance is 30 leagues. The Grand Bay at the entrance is but 7 leagues broad from land to land untill it come over against the Bay des Chasteaux: and from thence forward it hath not past 5 leagues in breadth. And

Belle Isle.

Carpont in 52. degrees.

The Grand Bay in 52. and an halfe.

A flatte rocke.

Butes.

The Isle of Blanc Sablon or white sand.

The severall breadths of the Grand Bay.

against Blanc Sablon it is 8 leagues broad from land to land. And the land on the South shore is all low land along the sea coast. The North shore is reasonable high land, Blanc Sablon is in 51⅔ degrees. The Isles of Blanc Sablon & the Isles de la Damoiselle, are Northeast, Westsouthwest, and take a little of the Westsouthwest, and they are distant 36 leagues: these Iles are in 50. deg. ¾. And there is a good haven: & you may enter by an high Cape which lieth along toward the Northeast, and within the distance of a pike & an half, because of a rocke which lieth on your larrebord side, & you may ancre in 10 fathome water over against a litle nooke: and from the great headland unto the place where thou doest ancre there is not above the length of 2 Cables. And if thou wouldest go out by the West side, thou must saile neere the Isle by the starrebord, & give roome unto the Isle on the larbord at the comming forth: and when thou art not past a cables length out thou must saile hard by the Isles on the larbord side, by reason of a suncken flatte which lieth on the starrebord, and thou shalt saile so on to the Southsouthwest, untill thou come in sight of a rocke which shineth, which is about halfe a league in the sea distant from the Isles, and thou shalt leave it on the larrebord: (and from the Isles of Damoiselle unto Newfoundland the sea is not in bredth above 36. leagues, because that Newfoundland even unto Cape Briton runneth not but Northnortheast & Southsouthwest.) Between the Isles de la Damoiselle and the Isles of Blanck Sablon there be many Isles and good harbours: and on this coast there are faulcons & haukes, and certaine foules which seeme to be feasants. The Isles de la Damoiselle & Cape Tienot are Northeast & Westsouthwest & take a little of the Northeast and southwest, & they are distant 18 leagues. Cape Tienot is in 50. deg. and ¼. And there the sea is broadest. And it may be to the end of Newfoundland, which is at the entrance of Cape Briton 70 leagues, which is the greatest bredth of the sea. And there are 6 or 7 Isles between the Isles de

Blanc Sablon. in 51. deg. 2. third parts.

The Isles de la Damoiselle in 50. deg. 3. fourth parts.

Many Isles & good harbors.

Cape Tienot in 50 deg. one fourth part.

la Damoiselle & Cape Tienot. Cape Tienot hath in ye sea 5 or 6 leagues distant from it a sunken Iland dangerous for ships. The Cape Tienot and the midst of the Isle of Ascension are Northeast and southsouthwest, & they are 22. leagues distant, the midst of the Isle of Ascension is in 49 deg. & ½. The said Isle lieth Northwest and Southeast, the Northwest end is in 50. degrees of latitude and the Southeast end is in 48. degrees and a halfe and it is about 25. leagues long and 4. or 5. leagues broad: and from the Northwest end of the Isle unto the firme land of the North side the Sea is not above seven leagues broad, but unto the firme land on the South side are about 15. leagues. Cape Tienot and the end of the Isle of Ascention toward the Southeast are Northeast and Southwest, and are distant 30. leagues. The said Cape of Tienot and the Northwest end of the Isle of Ascension are East and West, and take a little of the Northeast and Southwest, and they are distant 34. leagues. The Isle of Ascension is a goodly Isle, and a goodly champion land without any hilles, standing all upon white rocks and Alablaster, all covered with trees unto the Sea shore, and there are al sorts of trees as there be in France: and there be wild beasts, as beares, Luserns, Porkespicks. And from the Southeast end of the Isle of Ascension unto the entrance of Cape Briton is but 50. leagues. The Northwest end of the Isle & the Cape des Monts nostre Dame, which is on the maine land towards the South, are Northeast and Westsouthwest, and the distance betweene them is 15. leagues. The Cape is in 49. degrees, which is a very high land. The Cape and end of the Isle of Ascension toward the Southeast are East and West and there is 15. leagues distance betweene them. The Bay of Molves or Gaspay is in 48. degrees, and the coast lyeth North and South, and taketh a quarter of the Northeast and Southwest unto the Bay of Heate: and there are 3. Isles, one great one and two smal: from the Bay of Heate untill you passe the Monts nostre Dame al the land is high and good ground al covered with trees. Ognedoc

The Isle Ascention, Assumption, or Natiscotec. [III. 238.]

The commendation of the Isle of Ascention.

From Cape Briton to the Southeast end of the Isle of Ascention is but 50 leagues. The Cape of Montz nostre Dame.

The Bay of Molves or Gaspay.

The Bay de Chaleur or of Heate.

The Bay of Ognedoc.

is a good Bay and lyeth Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, and it is a good Harbour: and you must saile along the shore on the Northside by reason of the low point at the entrance therof: and when you are passed the poynt bring your selfe to an ancre in 15. or 20. fathoms of water toward the South shore, and here within this Haven are two rivers, one which goeth toward the Northwest, and the other to the Southwest. And on this coast there is great fishing for Coddes and other fish, where there is more store then is in Newfoundland, and better fish. And here is great store of river foule, as Malards, wild Geese, and others: And here are all sorts of trees, Rose trees, Raspesses, Filbird trees, Apple trees, Peare trees, and it is hotter here in Sommer then in France. The Isle of Ascension and the 7. Isles which lie on the North shore lie Southeast and Westnorthwest, and are distant 24. leagues. The Cape of Ognedoc and the 7. Isles are Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, & are distant 35. leagues. The Cape of Monts nostre Dame and the 7. Isles are North and South, and the cut over from the one to the other is 25. leagues: and this is the breadth of this Sea, and from thence upward it beginneth to waxe narrower and narrower. The 7. Isles are in 50. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. The 7. Isles and the poynt of Ongear lie Northeast and Southwest and the distance betweene them is 15. leagues, and betweene them are certaine small Islands: and the point of Ongear and the mountaines Nostre Dame, which are on the South side of the entrance of the river, are North and South: and the cut over from the one to the other is ten leagues: and this is here the abredth of the Sea. The poynt of Ongear and the river of Caen lie East and West, and they are distant 12. leagues. And all the coast from the Isle of Ascension hither is very good ground, wherein growe all sortes of trees that are in France and some fruits. The poynt of Ongear is in 49. degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$. And the river of Caen and the Isle of Raquelle lye Northeast and Southwest, and they are distant 12. leagues. The Isle of Raquelle is

Greater store and better fish then in Newfoundland.
Foules.
Trees.

The mouth of the river of Canada twenty five leagues broad.
The 7 Isles in 50 degrees and a halfe.

The river is here but 10 leagues broad.

The point of Ongear in 49 degrees and a quarter.
The Isle of Raquelle in 48 degrees and two third parts.

in 48. degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. In this river of Caen there is great store of fish. And here the Sea is not past 8. leagues broad. The Isle of Raquelle is a very low Isle, which is neere unto the South shore, hard by a high Cape which is called the Cape of Marble. There is no danger there at all. And betweene Raquelle and the Cape of Marble ships may passe. And there is not from the Isle to the South shore above one league, and from the Isle unto the North shore about foure leagues. The Isle of Raquelle and the entrance of Saguenay are Northeast Westsouthwest, and are distant 14. leagues, and there are betweene them two small Islandes neere the North shore. The entrance of Saguenay is in 48. degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$, and the entrance hath not past a quarter of a league in breadth, and it is dangerous toward the Southwest: and two or three leagues within the entrance it beginneth to waxe wider and wider: and it seemeth to bee as it were an arme of the Sea: And I thinke that the same runneth into the Sea of Cathay, for it sendeth foorth there a great current, and there doth runne in that place a terrible rase or tyde. And here the river from the North shore to the South shore is not past foure leagues in breadth, and it is a dangerous passage betweene both the lands, because there lie bankes of rockes in the river. The Isle of Raquelle and the Isle of Hares lye Northeast and Southwest, and take $\frac{1}{4}$ of the East and the West, and they are distant 18. leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Isle of Liepueres or Hares lie Northnortheast & Southsouthwest, and are distant 5. leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Isle of Raquelle are Northnorthwest, and Southsouthwest, and are distant three leagues. The Isle of Hares is in 48 and $\frac{1}{16}$ of a degree. From the Mountaines of Nostre Dame unto Canada and unto Hochelaga, all the land on the South coast is faire, a lowe land and goodly champaigne, all covered with trees unto the brink of the river. And the land on the North side is higher, and in some places there are high mountaines. And from the Isle of Hares unto the Isle of Orleans the

The river 8 leagues broad.

The entrance of Saguenay.

The sea of Cathay.

The river not past 4 leagues over.

The Isle of Hares in 48 and one sixteenth part.

[III. 239.]

Note. river is not past 4 or 5 leagues broad. Betweene the Isle of Hares and the highland on the North side the sea is not past a league and an halfe broad, and it is very deepe, for it is above 100. fathoms deepe in the middest. To the East of the Isle of Hares there are 2 or 3 small Isles and rockes. And from hence to the Isle Des Coudres or of Filbeards, all is nothing but Isles and rockes on the South shore: and towards the North the sea is fayre and deepe. The Isle of Hares and the Isle of Filbeards lie northeast, West and Southwest, and they are distant 12 leagues. And you must alwayes run along the high land on the north shore; for on the other shore there is nothing but rocks. And you must passe by the side of the Isle of Filbeards, and the river there is not past a quarter of a league broad, and you must sayle in the middest of the chanel: and in the middest runneth the best passage either at an hie or a low water, because the sea runneth there strongly, and there are great dangers of rocks, and you had neede of good ancre and cable. The isle of Filbeards is a small isle, about one league long, and halfe a league broad, but they are all banks of sand.

The isle of Filbeards in 47 degrees and 3 quarters. The isle of Filberds stands in 47. deg. and $\frac{3}{4}$. The isle of Filberds and the isle of Orleans lie northeast and southwest, and they are distant 10 leagues, and thou must passe by the high land on the northside about a quarter of a league, because that in the midst of the river there is nothing but sholds and rocks. And when thou shalt bee over against a round Cape, thou must take over to the South shore southwest, and a quarter toward the South; and thou shalt sayle in 5. 6 and 7 fathoms: and there the

The beginning of the fresh water. river of Canada beginneth to bee fresh, and the salt water endeth. And when thou shalt be athwart the point of the isle of Orleans, where the river beginneth to be fresh, thou shalt sayle in the midst of the river, and thou shalt leave the isle on the starreboord, which is on the right

The river but a quarter of a league broad. hand: and here the river is not past a quarter of a league broad, and hath 20 and 30 fathoms water. And towards the South shore there is a ledge of Isles all covered with

trees, and they end over against the point of the Isle of Orleans. And the poynt of the isle of Orleans toward the Northeast is in 47 degrees and one terce of a degree. And the Isle of Orleans is a fayre Isle, all covered with trees even unto the rivers side: and it is about 5 leagues long, and a league and an halfe broade. And on the North shore there is another River, which falleth into the mayne River at the ende of the Island: and Shippes may very well passe there. From the middest of the Isle unto Canada the River runneth West; and from the place of Canada unto France-Roy the river turneth West Southwest: and from the West ende of the Isle to Canada is but one league; and unto France-Roy 4 leagues. And when thou art come to the end of the Isle, thou shalt see a great River which falleth fifteene or twenty fathoms downe from a rocke, and maketh a terrible noyse. The Fort of France-roy stands in 47 degrees, and one sixt part of a degree.

The Isle of Orleans in 47 degrees and one third part.

Canada 1 league to the West of the Isle of Orleans. The Fort of France-Roy stood in 47 degrees and one sixt part.

The extension of all these lands, upon just occasion is called New France. For it is as good and as temperate as France, and in the same latitude. And the reason wherefore it is colder in the Winter is, because the fresh River is naturally more colde then the Sea; and it is also broad and deepe: and in some places it is halfe a league and above in breadth. And also because the land is not tylled, nor full of people, and is all full of Woods, which is the cause of colde, because there is not store of fire nor cattel. And the sunne hath his Meridian as high as the Meridian at Rochel: and it is noone here when the Sunne is at South Southwest at Rochel. And here the North starre by the compasse standeth North northeast. And when at Rochel it is noone, it is but halfe an houre past nine at France-Roy. From the sayde place unto the Ocean sea and the coast of New France, is not above 50 leagues distance. And from the entrance of Norumbega unto Florida are 300 leagues: and from this place of France-Roy to Hochelaga, are about 80 leagues: and unto ye Isle of Rasus 30

Why the countrey is colder in the Winter then France.

A second reason.

The variation of ye compasse.

leagues. And I doubt not but Norumbega entreth into the river of Canada, and unto the Sea of Saguenay. And from the Fort of France-Roy untill a man come foorth of the Grande Bay is not above 230 leagues. And the course is Northeast and West Southwest not above 5 degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$ difference: and reckon 16 leagues and an halfe to a degree. By the nature of the climate the lands toward Hochelaga are still better and better, and more fruitfull. And this land is fitte for Figges and Peares. And I thinke that golde and silver will be found here, according as the people of the countrey say. These landes lye over against Tartarie, and I doubt not but that they stretch toward Asia, according to the roundnesse of the world. And therefore it were good to have a small Shippe of 70 tunnes to discover the coast of New France on the backe side of Florida: for I have bene at a Bay as farre as 42 degrees betweene Norumbega and Florida, and I have not searched the ende thereof, and I knowe not whether it passe through. And in all these Countreys there are okes, and bortz, ashes, elmes, arables, trees of life, pines prussetrees, ceders, great wall nut trees, and wilde nuts, hasel-trees, wilde peare trees, wilde grapes, and there have bene found redde plummes. And very faire corne groweth there, and peason grow of their owne accord, gooseberries and strawberries. And there are goodly Forrests, wherein men may hunt. And there are great store of stagges, deere, porkepicks, and the Savages say there bee Unicornes. Fowle there are in abundance, as bustards, wilde geese, cranes, turtle doves, ravens, crowes, and many other birds. All things which are sowen there, are not past 2. or 3. dayes in comming up out of the ground. I have tolde in one eare of corne an hundred and twenty graines, like the corne of France. And ye neede not to sowe your Wheate untill March, and it will be ripe in the middest of August. The waters are better and perfecter then in France. And if the Countrey were tilled and replenished with people, it would be as hotte as Rochel. And the reason why it

From the fort of France Roy unto ye mouth of the Grand Bay 230 leags.

Gold and silver like to be found in Canada.

A Bay in 42. degrees giving some hope of a passage.

[III. 240.]

Trees.

Redde plums.

Fowle.

Corne.

Wheate to be sowen in March.

snoweth there oftener then in France is, because it raineth there but seldome: for the raine is converted into snowes. *The cause of the often snowing in Canada.*

All things above mentioned, are true.

John Alphonse made this Voyage with Monsieur Roberval.

There is a pardon to be seene for the pardoning of Monsieur de Saine terre, Lieutenant of the sayd Monsieur de Roberval, given in Canada in the presence of the sayde John Alphonse.

The Voyage of John Francis de la Roche, knight, Lord of Roberval, to the Countries of Canada, Saguenai, and Hochelaga, with three tall Ships, and two hundred persons, both men, women, and children, begun in April, 1542. In which parts he remayned the same summer, and all the next winter.

SIr John Francis de la Roche knight, lord of Roberval, appoynted by the king as his Lieutenant general in the countreis of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, furnished 3. tall Ships, chiefly at the kings cost: And having in his fleete 200. persons, aswel men as women, accompanied with divers gentlemen of qualitie, as namely with Monsieur Saineterre his lieutenant, l'Espiney his Ensigne, captain Guinecourt, Monsieur Noire fontaine, Dieu lamont, Frote, la Brosse, Francis de Mire, la Salle, and Roieze, and John Alfonse of Xanctoigne an excellent pilot, set sayle from Rochel the 16. of April 1542. The same day about noone we came athwart of Chefe de boys, where we were enforced to stay the night following. On Munday the seventeenth of the sayde Moneth wee departed from Chefe de-boys. The winde served us notably for a time: but within fewe dayes it came quite contrary,

which hindered our journey for a long space: For wee were suddenly enforced to turne backe, and to seeke Harborough in Belle Isle, on the coast of Bretaigne, where wee stayed so long, and had such contrary weather by the way, that wee could not reach Newfound lande, untill the seventh of June. The eight of this Moneth wee entred into the Rode of Saint John, where wee founde seventeene Shippes of fishers. While wee made somewhat long abode heere, Jaques Cartier and his company returning from Canada, whither hee was sent with five sayles the yeere before, arrived in the very same Harbour. Who, after hee had done his duetie to our Generall, tolde him that hee had brought certaine Diamonts, and a quantitie of Golde ore, which was found in the Countrey. Which ore the Sunday next ensuing was tryed in a Furnace, and found to be good.

Diamonts. Golde found.

Furthermore, hee enformed the Generall that hee could not with his small company withstand the Savages, which went about dayly to annoy him: and that this was the cause of his returne into France. Neverthelesse, hee and his company commended the Countrey to bee very rich and fruitfull. But when our Generall being furnished with sufficient forces, commaunded him to goe backe againe with him, hee and his company, mooved as it seemeth with ambition, because they would have all the glory of the discoverie of those partes themselves, stole privily away the next night from us, and without taking their leaves departed home for Bretaigne.

Jacques Cartier stole away.

[III. 241.] Wee spent the greatest part of June in this Harbour of Saint John, partly in furnishing ourselves with fresh water, whereof wee stoode in very great neede by the way, and partly in composing and taking up of a quarell betweene some of our Countreymen, and certaine Portugals. At length, about the last of the aforesayde Moneth, wee departed hence, and entred into the Grand Baye, and passed by the Isle of Ascension: and finally arrived foure leagues Westward of the Isle of Orleans. In this place wee found a convenient Harbour for our shipping, where wee cast

anchor, went a shoare with our people, and chose out a convenient place to fortifie ourselves in, fitte to command the mayne River, and of strong situation against all invasion of enemies. Thus towarde the ende of July, wee brought our victuals and other munitions and provisions on shore, and began to travaile in fortifying of our selves. *July.*

Of the Fort of France-Roy, and that which was done there.

HAving described the beginning, the middest, and the ende of the Voyage made by Monsieur Roberval in the Countreyes of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and other Countreyes in the West partes: He sayled so farre, (as it is declared in other bookes) that hee arrived in the sayde Countrey, accompanyed with two hundred persons, souldiers, mariners, and common people, with all furniture necessary for a Fleete. The sayde Generall at his first arrivall built a fayre Fort, neere and somewhat Westward above Canada, which is very beautifull to beholde, and of great force, situated upon an high mountaine, wherein there were two courtes of buyldings, a great Towre, and another of fortie or fiftie foote long: wherein there were divers Chambers, an Hall, a Kitchine, houses of office, Sellers high and lowe, and neere unto it were an Oven and Milles, and a stoove to warme men in, and a Well before the house. And the buylding was situated upon the great River of Canada, called France prime, by Monsieur Roberval. There was also at the foote of the mountaine another lodging, part whereof was a great Towre of two stories high, two courtes of good buylding, where at the first all our victuals, and whatsoever was brought with us was sent to be kept: and neere unto that Towre there is another small river. In these two places above and beneath, all the meaner sort was lodged. *France prime.*

And in the Moneth of August, and in the beginning of September every man was occupied in such woorke as eche one was able to doe. But the fourteenth of September, our aforesayde Generall sent backe into France two *August* 1542. *September* 14.

Shippes which had brought his furniture, and he appoynted for Admirall Monsieur de Saine-terre, and the other captaine was Monsieur Guinecourt, to carie newes unto the King, and to come backe againe unto him the yeere next ensuing, furnished with victuals and other things, as it should please the King: and also to bring newes out of France how the King accepted certaine Diamants which were sent him, and were found in this countrey.

After these two Shippes were departed, consideration was had how they should doe, and how they might passe out the Winter in this place. First they tooke a view of the victuals, and it was found that they fell out short: and they were scantled so, that in eche messe they had but two loaves weighing a pound a piece, and halfe a pound of biefe. They ate Bacon at dinner with halfe a pound of butter: and Biefe at supper, and about two handfuls of Beanes without butter.

The proportion of their victuals.

On the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday they did eate dry Cod, and sometimes they did eate it greene at dinner with butter, and they ate of Porposes and beanes at supper.

About that time the Savages brought us great store of Aloses, which is a fish somewhat redde like a Salmon, to get knives and other small trifles for them.

In the ende many of our people fell sicke of a certaine disease in their legges, reynes, and stomacke, so that they seemed to bee deprived of all their lymmes, and there dyed thereof about fiftie.

The length of the winter.

Note that the yce began to breake up in April.

Monsieur Roberval used very good justice, and punished every man according to his offence. One whose name was Michael Gaillon, was hanged for his theft. John of Nantes was layde in yrons, and kept prisoner for his offence, and others also were put in yrons, and divers were whipped, as well men as women: by which meanes they lived in quiet.

They had women with them.

The maners of the Savages. [III. 242.]

TO declare unto you the state of the Savages, they are people of a goodly stature, and well made, they are very white, but they are all naked: and if they were apparelled as the French are, they would bee as white and as fayre: but they paynt themselves for feare of heat and sunne burning.

Their apparell. In stead of apparell, they weare skinnes upon them like mantles; and they have a small payre of breeches, wherewith they cover their privities, as well men as women. *So have they of Ceula, and Quivira, and Meta Incognita.* They have hosen and shooes of lether excellently made. And they have no shirts: neither cover they their heads, but their hayre is trussed up above the crowne of their heads, and playted or broyded. *Their victuals.* Touching their victuals, they eate good meate, but all unsalted, but they drye it, and afterward they broyle it, as well fish as flesh. *They remove from place to place.* They have no certaine dwelling place, and they goe from place to place, as they thinke they may best finde foode, as Aloses in one place, and other fish, Salmons, Sturgions, *Fish.* Mullets, Surmullets, Barz, Carpes, Eeles, Pinperneaux, and other fresh water fish, and store of Porposes. They feede also of Stagges, wilde Bores, Bugles, Porkespynes, *Beastes.* and store of other wilde beastes. And there is as great store of Fowle as they can desire. *Fowle.*

Their bread of great Myl or Maiz. Touching their bread, they make very good: and it is of great myll: and they live very well; for they take care for nothing else.

Drinke of Seale oyle at their great feasts. They drinke Seale oyle, but this is at their great feasts.

Their government. They have a King in every Countrey, and are wonderfull obedient unto him: and they doe him honour according unto their maner and fashion. And when they travayle from place to place, they cary all their goods with them in their boates.

The weomen nurse their children with the breast, and they sit continually, and are wrapped about the bellies with skinnes of furre.

[The voyage

The voyage of Monsieur Roberval from his Fort in Canada unto Saguenay, the fifth of June, 1543.

MOnsieur Roberval the kings Lieutenant generall in the Countries of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, departed toward the said province of Saguenay on the Tuesday the 5. day of June 1543. after supper: and he with all his furniture was imbarked to make the sayd voyage. But upon a certaine occasion they lay in the Rode over against the place before mentioned: but on the Wednesday about sixe of the clocke in the morning they set sayle, and sayled against the streame: in which voyage their whole furniture was of eight barks, aswell great as small, and to the number of threescore and ten persons, with the aforesayd Generall.

The 5. of June.

The 6. of June.

The Generall left behinde him in the aforesayde place and Fort thirtie persons to remayne there untill his returne from Saguenay, which hee appoynted to bee the first of July, or else they should returne into France. And hee left there behinde him but two Barkes to cary the sayde thirtie persons, and the furniture which was there, while hee stayed still in the Countrey.

Monsieur de Royeze.

And for effectuating hereof, he left as his Lieutenant a gentleman named Monsieur de Royeze, to whom he gave commission, and charged all men to obey him, and to be at the commandement of the sayd lieutenant.

The victuals which were left for their mayntenance untill the sayd first day of July, were received by the sayd Lieutenant Royeze.

The 14 of June.

On Thursday the 14. of June Monsieur de l'Espiney, la Brosse, Monsieur Frete, Monsieur Longeval, and others, returned from the Generall, from the voyage of Saguenay.

And note that eight men and one Barke were drowned

and lost, among whom was Monsieur de Noire fontaine, and one named la Vasseur of Constance.

On Tuesday the 19. of June aforesayd, there came from the Generall, Monsieur de Villeneufue, Talebot, and three others, which brought sixescore pounds weight of their corne, and letters to stay yet untill Magdalentyde, which is the 22. day of July. *The 19 of June.* *Maiz.* *The 22. of July* 1543.

The rest of this Voyage is wanting.

The Voyages and Navigations of the English nation to Virginia, and the severall discoveries therof chiefly at the charges of the honourable Sir Walter Ralegh knight, from 33 to 40 degrees of latitude: together with the successe of the English colonies there planted: as likewise a description of the Countrey, with the Inhabitants, and the manifold commodities. Whereunto are annexed the patents, letters, discourses, &c. to this part belonging. [III. 243.]

The letters patents, granted by the Queenes Majestie to M. Walter Ralegh, now Knight, for the discovering and planting of new lands and Countries, to continue the space of 6. yeeres and no more.

ELizabeth by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all people to whom these presents shal come, greeting. Know ye that of our especial grace, certaine science, & meere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors doe give and grant to our trusty and welbeloved servant Walter Ralegh Esquire, and to his heires and assignes for ever, free liberty & licence

from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to discover, search, finde out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreis, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, his heires and assignes, and to every or any of them shall seeme good, and the same to have, holde, occupy & enjoy to him, his heires and assignes for ever, with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, priviledges, franchises and pre-eminences, thereto or thereabouts both by sea and land, whatsoever we by our letters patents may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors have heretofore granted to any person or persons, bodies politique or corporate: and the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and all such as from time to time, by licence of us, our heires and successors, shal goe or travaile thither to inhabite or remaine, there to build and fortifie, at the discretion of the said Walter Ralegh, his heires & assignes, the statutes or act of Parliament made against fugitives, or against such as shall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other statute, act, law, or any ordinance whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And we do likewise by these presents, of our especial grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, for us, our heires and successors, give and graunt full authoritie, libertie and power to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and every of them, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and leade in the sayde voyage, and travaile thitherward, or to inhabite there with him or them, and every or any of them, such, and so many of our subjects as shall willingly accompany him or them, and every or any of them: and to whom also we doe by these presents, give full libertie and authoritie in that behalfe, and also to have, take and employ, and use sufficient shipping and furniture for the transportations, and Navigations in that behalfe, so that none of the same

persons or any of them be such as hereafter shall be restrained by us, our heires or successors.

And further that the said Walter Ralegh his heires and assignes, and every of them, shall have, holde, occupie and enjoy to him, his heires and assignes, and every of them for ever, all the soyle of all such landes, territories, and Countreis, so to be discovered and possessed as aforesayd, and of all such Cities, Castles, Townes, Villages, and places in the same, with the right, royalties, franchises, and jurisdictions, as well marine as other within the sayd landes, or Countreis, or the seas thereunto adjoyning, to be had, or used, with full power to dispose thereof, and of every part in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the lawes of England, as neere as the same conveniently may be, at his, and their wil and pleasure, to any persons then being, or that shall remaine within the allegiance of us, our heires and successors: reserving alwayes to us, our heires and successors, for all services, dueties, and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of golde and silver, that from time to time, and at all times after such discoverie, subduing and possessing, shall be there gotten and obteined: All which lands, Countries, and territories shall for ever be holden of the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, of us, our heires and successors, by homage, and by the sayd payment of the sayd fift part, reserved onely for all services.

And moreover, we do by these presents, for us, our heires and successors, give and grant licence to the said [III. 244.] Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and every of them, that he, and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulse, repell and resist aswell by sea as by lande, and by all other wayes whatsoever, all and every such person and persons whatsoever, as without the especiall liking and licence of the sayd Walter Ralegh, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayde Countryes, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues

neere to the place or places within such Countryes as aforesayde (if they shall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limits as aforesayd with the subjects of any Christian Prince being in amitie with us) where the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or his, or their, or any of their associats or company, shall within sixe yeeres (next ensuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter unlawfully to annoy, eyther by Sea or Lande the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies: giving, and graunting by these presents further power and authoritie to the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and every of them from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to take and surprise by all maner of meanes whatsoever, all and every those person or persons, with their Shippes, Vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the sayde Walter Ralegh, or his heires, or assignes, as aforesayd, shalbe found traffiquing into any Harbour, or Harbours, Creeke, or Creekes, within the limits aforesayd, (the subjects of our Realmes and Dominions, and all other persons in amitie with us, trading to the Newfound lands for fishing as heretofore they have commonly used, or being driven by force of a tempest, or shipwracke onely excepted:) and those persons, and every of them, with their shippes, vessels, goods, and furniture to deteine and possesse as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and every, or any of them. And for uniting in more perfect league and amitie, of such Countryes, landes, and territories so to be possessed and inhabited as aforesayd with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and the better incouragement of men to these enterprises: we doe by these presents, graunt and declare that all such Countries, so hereafter to be possessed and inhabited as is aforesayd, from thencefoorth shall be of the allegiance to us, our heires and successours. And wee doe graunt to the sayd

Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and to all, and every of them, and to all, and every other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entred in some of our Courts of recorde within our Realme of England, that with the assent of the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, shall in his journeis for discoverie, or in the journeis for conquest hereafter travaile to such lands, countreis and territories, as aforesayd, and to their, and to every of their heires, and they, and every or any of them, being eyther borne within our sayde Realmes of England or Irelande, or in any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the Lands, Countryes, and Territories, with such licence, (as aforesayd) shall and may have all the priviledges of free Denizens, and persons native of England, and within our allegiance in such like ample maner and forme, as if they were borne and personally resident within our said Realme of England, any law, custome, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

Note.

Free Denization granted.

And forasmuch as upon the finding out, discovering, or inhabiting of such remote lands, countries, and territories as aforesaid, it shalbe necessary for the safety of all men, that shall adventure themselves in those journeyes or voyages, to determine to live together in Christian peace, and civill quietnesse eche with other, whereby every one may with more pleasure and profit enjoy that whereunto they shall atteine with great paine and perill, wee for us, our heires and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe give & grant to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes for ever, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time for ever hereafter, within the said mentioned remote lands and countries, in the way by the seas thither, and from thence, have full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, governe, and rule by their and every or any of their good discretions and policies, aswell in causes capitall,

or criminall, as civil, both marine and other, all such our subjects, as shal from time to time adventure themselves in the said journeis or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreis, or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within 200. leagues of any of the sayde place or places, where the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associats or companies, shall inhabite within 6. yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances as shall be by him the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them devised, or established, for the better government of the said people
[III. 245.] as aforesaid. So alwayes as the said statutes, lawes, and ordinances may be, as nere as conveniently may bee, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, statutes, governement, or pollicie of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, nowe professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdrawe any of the subjects or people of those lands or places from the alleagance of us, our heires and successours, as their immediate Soveraigne under God.

And further, we doe by these presents for us, our heires and successors, give and grant ful power and authoritie to our trustie and welbeloved Counsailour Sir William Cecill knight, Lorde Burghley, or high Treasourer of England, and to the Lorde Treasourer of England for us, our heires and successors for the time being, and to the privie Counsaile of us, our heires and successors, or any foure or more of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foure or more of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, under his or their handes or Seales by vertue of these presents, authorise and licence the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them by him, & by themselves, or by their, or any of their sufficient Atturneis, Deputies, Officers, Ministers, Factors, and servants, to imbarke & transport out of our Realme of England and

Ireland, and the Dominions thereof, all or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his and their associats and companies, and every or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the sayde Lorde Treasurer, or foure or more of the privie Counsaile, of us our heires and successors for the time being (as aforesaid) shalbe from time to time by his or their wisedomes, or discretions thought meete and convenient, for the better reliefe and supportation of him the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and every or any of them, and of his or their or any of their associats and companies, any act, statute, law, or any thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided alwayes, and our wil and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes, and states, that if the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by sea or by land, or doe any acte of unjust or unlawfull hostilitie, to any of the subjects of us, our heires or successors, or to any of the subjects of any the kings, princes, rulers, Governours, or estates, being then in perfect league and amitie with us, our heires and successours, and that upon such injurie, or upon just complaint of any such Prince, Ruler, Governour or estate, or their subjects, wee, our heires and successors, shall make open Proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England, that the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, or any to whom these our Letters patents may extende, shall within the termes to bee limited, by such Proclamation, make full restitution, and satisfaction of all such injuries done: so as both we and the said Princes, or other so complaining, may hold us and themselves fully contented: And that if the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly within such time so to be limitted, that then it shal be lawful to

us, our heires and successors, to put the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the saide places to be discovered (as is aforesaid) or any of them out of our allegeance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection of the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires, assignes and adherents, and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shall be out of our allegeance and protection, and free for all Princes and others to pursue with hostilitie, as being not our subjects, nor by us any way to be avouched, maintained, or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or allegeance any way belonging: for that expresse mention of the cleere yeerely value of the certaintie of the premisses, or any part thereof, or of any other gift, or grant by us, or any our progenitors, or predecessors to the said Walter Ralegh, before this time made in these presents, bee not expressed, or any other grant, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restraint to the contrary thereof, before this time, given, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof, wee have caused these our letters to be made Patents. Witnesse our selves, at Westminster the five *Anno* 1584. and twentie day of March, in the sixe and twentith yeere of our Raigne.

The first voyage made to the coasts of America, with two barks, where in were Captaines M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe, who discovered part of the Countrey now called Virginia, Anno 1584. Written by one of the said Captaines, and sent to sir Walter Ralegh knight, at whose charge and direction, the said voyage was set forth. [III. 246.]

THE 27 day of Aprill, in the yeere of our redemption, 1584 we departed the West of England, with two barkes well furnished with men and victuals, having received our last and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions, and commandements delivered by your selfe at our leaving the river of Thames. And I thinke it a matter both unnecessary, for the manifest discoverie of the Countrey, as also for tediousnesse sake, to remember unto you the diurnall of our course, sayling thither and returning: onely I have presumed to present unto you this briefe discourse, by which you may judge how profitable this land is likely to succeede, as well to your selfe, (by whose direction and charge, and by whose servantes this our discoverie hath beene performed) as also to her Highnesse, and the Common wealth, in which we hope your wisedome wilbe satisfied, considering that as much by us hath bene brought to light, as by those smal meanes, and number of men we had, could any way have bene expected, or hoped for.

The tenth of May we arrived at the Canaries, and the tenth of June in this present yeere, we were fallen with the Islands of the West Indies, keeping a more South-easterly course then was needefull, because wee doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexico, disbogging betweene the Cape of Florida and Havana, had bene of

A Southerly course not greatly needful for Virginia.

greater force then afterwardes we found it to bee. At which Islands we found the ayre very unwholsome, and our men grew for the most part ill disposed: so that having refreshed our selves with sweet water, & fresh victuall, we departed the twelfth day of our arrivall there. These Islands, with the rest adjoyning, are so well knowen to your selfe, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

A sweet smell from the land.

The second of July, we found shole water, wher we smelt so sweet, and so strong a smel, as if we had bene in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be farre distant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but slacke saile, the fourth of the same moneth we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firme lande, and we sayled along the same a hundred and twentie English miles before we could finde any entrance, or river issuing into the Sea.

The first river.

The first that appeared unto us, we entred, though not without some difficultie, & cast anker about three harquebuz-shot within the havens mouth, on the left hand of the same: and after thankes given to God for our safe arrivall thither, we manned our boats, and went to view

"July 13 possession taken.

the land next adjoyning, and "to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queenes most excellent Majestie, as rightfull Queene, and Princesse of the same, and after delivered the same over to your use, according to her Majesties grant, and letters patents, under her Highnesse great Seale. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises, we viewed the land about us, being, whereas we first landed, very sandie and

Abundance of grapes.

low towards the waters side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the Sea overflowed them, of which we found such plentie, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the greene soile on the hils, as in the plaines, as well on every little shrubbe, as also climing towardes the tops of high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found: and

my selfe having seene those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written.

The Isle of Wokohon.

We passed from the Sea side towardes the toppes of those hilles next adjoyning, being but of meane higth, and from thence wee behelde the Sea on both sides to the North, and to the South, finding no ende any of both wayes. This lande lay stretching it selfe to the West, which after wee found to bee but an Island of twentie miles long, and not above sixe miles broade. Under the banke or hill whereon we stoode, we behelde the vallyes replenished with goodly Cedar trees, and having discharged our harquebuz-shot, such a flocke of Cranes (the most part white) arose under us, with such a cry redoubled by many ecchoes, as if an armie of men had showted all together.

Goodly Cedars, Pynes, Cypres, Sassaphras.

This Island had many goodly woodes full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, even in the middest of Summer in incredible abundance. The woodes are not such as you finde in Bohemia, Moscovia, or Hercynia, barren and fruitles, but the highest and reddest Cedars of the world, farre bettering the Ceders of the Açores, of the Indies, or Lybanus, Pynes, Cypres, Sassaphras, the Lentisk, or the tree that beareth the Masticke, the tree that beareth the rine of blacke Sinamon, of which Master Winter brought from the streights of Magellan, and many other of excellent smell and qualitie. We remained by the side of this Island two whole dayes before we saw any people of the Countrey: the third day we espied one small boate rowing towardes us having in it three persons: this boat came to the Island side, foure harquebuz-shot from our shippes, and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the shoreside towards us, and wee being then all within boord, he walked up and downe upon the point of the land next unto us: then the Master and the Pilot of the Admirall, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captaine Philip Amadas, my selfe, and others rowed to the land, whose comming this fellow attended, never making any

[III. 247.]

Conference with a Savage.

shewe of feare or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not understood by us, we brought him with his owne good liking, aboord the ships, and gave him a shirt, a hat & some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very wel: and after having viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his owne boat againe, which hee had left in a little Cove or Creeke adjoyning: assoone as hee was two bow shoot into the water, he fell to fishing, and in lesse then halfe an houre, he had laden his boate as deepe, as it could swimme, with which hee came againe to the point of the lande, and there he devided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship, and the other to the pinnesse: which, after he had (as much as he might) requited the former benefites received, departed out of our sight.

Abundance of fish.

The arrival of the kings brother.

The next day there came unto us divers boates, and in one of them the Kings brother, accompanied with fortie or fiftie men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civill as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina, the countrey Wingandacoa, and now by her Majestie Virginia. The maner of his comming was in this sort: hee left his boates altogether as the first man did a little from the shippes by the shore, and came along to the place over against the ships, followed with fortie men. When he came to the place, his servants spread a long matte upon the ground, on which he sate downe, and at the other ende of the matte foure others of his companie did the like, the rest of his men stood round about him, somewhat a farre off: when we came to the shore to him with our weapons, hee never mooved from his place, nor any of the other foure, nor never mistrusted any harme to be offred from us, but sitting still he beckoned us to come and sit by him, which we performed: and being set hee made all signes of joy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast and afterwardes on ours, to shewe wee

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were all one, smiling and making shewe the best he could of all love, and familiaritie. After hee had made a long speech unto us, wee presented him with divers things, which hee received very joyfully, and thankefully. None of the company durst speake one worde all the time: onely the foure which were at the other ende, spake one in the others eare very softly.

The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children reverenced: the King himselfe in person was at our being there, sore wounded in a fight which hee had with the King of the next countrey, called Wingina, and was shot in two places through the body, and once cleane through the thigh, but yet he recovered: by reason whereof and for that hee lay at the chiefe towne of the countrey, being sixe dayes journey off, we saw him not at all.

After we had presented this his brother with such things as we thought he liked, wee likewise gave somewhat to the other that sat with him on the matte: but presently he arose and tooke all from them and put it into his owne basket, making signes and tokens, that all things ought to bee delivered unto him, and the rest were but his servants, and followers. A day or two after this, we fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had, for Chamoys, Buffe, and Deere skinnes: when we shewed him all our packet of merchandize, of all things that he sawe, a bright tinne dish most pleased him, which hee presently tooke up and clapt it before his breast, and after made a hole in the brimme thereof and hung it about his necke, making signes that it would defende him against his enemies arrowes: for those people maintaine a deadly and terrible warre, with the people and King adjoyning. We exchanged our tinne dish for twentie skinnes, woorth twentie Crownes, or twentie Nobles: and a copper kettle for fiftie skins woorth fifty Crownes. They offered us good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for knives, and would have given any thing for swordes: but wee would not

Trafficke with the Savages.

Tinne much esteemed.

depart with any. After two or three dayes the Kings brother came aboord the shippes, and dranke wine, and eat of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof: and after a few dayes overpassed, he brought his wife with him to the ships, his daughter and two or three children: his wife was very well favoured, of meane stature, and very bashfull: shee had on her backe a long cloake of leather, with the furre side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same: about her forehead shee had a bande of white Corall, and so had her husband many times: in her eares shee had bracelets of pearles hanging downe to her middle, (whereof wee delivered your worship a little bracelet) and those were of the bignes of good pease. The rest of her women of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either eare, and some of the children of the kings brother and other noble men, have five or sixe in either eare: he himselfe had upon his head a broad plate of golde, or copper, for being unpolished we knew not what mettal it should be, neither would he by any meanes suffer us to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very easily. His apparell was as his wives, onely the women weare their haire long on both sides, and the men but on one. They are of colour yellowish, and their haire black for the most part, and yet we saw children that had very fine aburne, and chestnut coloured haire.

White corall Perles.

[III. 248.]

After that these women had bene there, there came downe from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, corall, divers kindes of dies very excellent, and exchanged with us: but when Granganimeo the kings brother was present, none durst trade but himselfe: except such as weare red pieces of copper on their heads like himselfe: for that is the difference betweene the noble men, and the governours of countreys, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you have understood since by these men, which we brought home, that no people in the worlde cary more respect to their King, Nobilitie, and Governours, then these doe. The

Kings brothers wife, when she came to us (as she did many times) was followed with forty or fifty women alwayes: and when she came into the shippe, she left them all on land, saving her two daughters, her nurse and one or two more. The Kings brother alwayes kept this order, as many boates as he would come withall to the shippes, so many fires would hee make on the shore a farre off, to the end we might understand with what strength and company he approched. Their boates are made of one tree, either of Pine or of Pitch trees: a wood not commonly knowen to our people, nor found growing in England. They have no edge-tooles to make them withall: if they have any they are very fewe, and those it seemes they had twentie yeres since, which, as those two men declared, was out of a wrake which happened upon their coast of some Christian ship, being beaten that way by some storme and outragious weather, whereof none of the people were saved, but only the ship, or some part of her being cast upon the sand, out of whose sides they drew the nayles and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner of making their boates is thus: they burne downe some great tree, or take such as are winde fallen, and putting gumme and rosen upon one side thereof, they set fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coale with their shels, and ever where they would burne it deeper or wider they lay on gummes, which burne away the timber, and by this meanes they fashion very fine boates, and such as will transport twentie men. Their oares are like scoopes, and many times they set with long pooles, as the depth serveth.

Pitch trees.

The manner of making their boates.

The Kings brother had great liking of our armour, a sword, and divers other things which we had: and offered to lay a great boxe of pearle in gage for them: but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them knowe, that we esteemed thereof, untill we had understoode in what places of the countrey the pearle grew: which now your Worshippe doeth very well understand.

He was very just of his promise: for many times we delivered him merchandize upon his word, but ever he came within the day and performed his promise. He sent us every day a brase or two of fat Bucks, Conies, Hares, Fish the best of the world. He sent us divers kindes of fruites, Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourdes, Pease, and divers rootes, and fruites very excellent good, and of their Countrey corne, which is very white, faire and well tasted, and groweth three times in five moneths: in May they sow, in July they reape, in June they sow, in August they reape: in July they sow, in September they reape: onely they cast the corne into the ground, breaking a little of the soft turfe with a wodden mattock, or pickeaxe: our selves prooved the soile, and put some of our Pease in the ground, and in tenne dayes they were of fourteene ynches high: they have also Beanes very faire of divers colours and wonderfull plentie: some growing naturally, and some in their gardens, and so have they both wheat and oates.

The soile is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull and wholsome of all the worlde: there are above foureteene severall sweete smelling timber trees, and the most part of their underwoods are Bayes and such like: they have those Okes that we have, but farre greater and better. After they had bene divers times aboord our shippes, my selfe, with seven more went twentie mile into the River, that runneth towarde the Citie of Skicoak, which River they call Occam: and the evening following, wee came to an *Roanoak Island.* Island, which they call Raonoak, distant from the harbour by which we entred, seven leagues: and at the North end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turne pike very artificially; when wee came towardes it, standing [III. 249.] neere unto the waters side, the wife of Granganimo the kings brother came running out to meete us very cheerefully and friendly, her husband was not then in the village; some of her people shee commanded to drawe

A VIRGINIAN WARRIOR

our boate on shore for the beating of the billoe: others she appointed to cary us on their backes to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the house for feare of stealing. When we were come into the utter roome, having five roomes in her house, she caused us to sit downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes and washed them, and dryed them againe: some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feete in warme water, and shee her selfe tooke great paines to see all things ordered in the best maner shee could, making great haste to dresse some meate for us to eate. *The great kindnes of the kings brothers wife.*

After we had thus dryed our selves, she brought us into the inner roome, where shee set on the boord standing along the house, some wheate like furmentie, sodden Venison, and roasted, fish sodden, boyled, and roasted, Melons rawe, and sodden, rootes of divers kindes, and divers fruites: their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth, they drinke wine, and for want of caskes to keepe it, all the yere after they drink water, but it is sodden with Ginger in it, and blacke Sinamon, and sometimes Sassaphras, and divers other wholesome, and medicinable hearbes and trees. We were entertained with all love and kindnesse, and with as much bountie (after their maner) as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as live after the maner of the golden age. The people onely care howe to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soile affoordeth: there meate is very well sodden and they make broth very sweet and savorie: their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white and sweete, their dishes are wodden platters of sweet timber: within the place where they feede was their lodging, and within that their Idoll, which they worship, of whome they speake incredible things. While we were at meate, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bowes and arrowes from hunting, *A solemn banket.* *Their Idole.*

whom when wee espied, we beganne to looke one towardes another, and offered to reach our weapons: but assoone as shee espied our mistrust, shee was very much mooved, and caused some of her men to runne out, and take away their bowes and arrowes and breake them, and withall beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. When we departed in the evening and would not tary all night, she was very sory, and gave us into our boate our supper halfe dressed, pottes and all, and brought us to our boate side, in which wee lay all night, remooving the same a prettie distance from the shoare: shee perceiving our jelousie, was much greived, and sent divers men and thirtie women, to sit all night on the banke side by us, and sent us into our boates five mattes to cover us from the raine, using very many wordes to intreate us to rest in their houses: but because wee were fewe men, and if wee had miscaried, the voyage had bene in very great danger, wee durst not adventure any thing, though there was no cause of doubt: for a more kinde and loving people there can not be found in the worlde, as farre as we have hitherto had triall.

Beyond this Island there is the maine lande, and over against this Island falleth into this spacious water, the great river called Occam by the inhabitants on which standeth a towne called Pomeiock, & sixe dayes journey from the same is situate their greatest citie, called Skicoak, which this people affirme to be very great: but the Savages were never at it, only they speake of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they have heard affirme it to bee above one houres journey about.

Skicoaka great town.

Into this river falleth another great river, called Cipo, in which there is found great store of Muskles in which there are pearles: likewise there descendeth into this Occam, another river, called Nomopana, on the one side whereof standeth a great towne called Chawanook, and the Lord of that towne and countrey is called Pooneno: this Pooneno is not subject to the king of Wingandacoa,

but is a free Lord: beyond this country is there another king, whom they cal Menatonon, and these three kings are in league with each other. Towards the Southwest, foure dayes journey is situate a towne called Sequotan, which is the Southermost towne of Wingandacoa, neere unto which, sixe and twentie yeres past there was a ship cast away, whereof some of the people were saved, and those were white people, whom the countrey people preserved. *A ship cast away.*

And after ten dayes remaining in an out Island unhabited, called Wocokon, they with the help of some of the dwellers of Sequotan, fastened two boates of the countrey together & made mastes unto them, and sailes of their shirtes, and having taken into them such victuals as the countrey yeelded, they departed after they had remained in this out Island 3 weekes: but shortly after it seemed they were cast away, for the boates were found upon the coast, cast a land in another Island adjoyning: other then these, there was never any people apparelled, or white of colour, either seene or heard of amongst these [III. 250.] people, and these aforesaid were seene onely of the inhabitantes of Secotan, which appeared to be very true, for they wondred marvelously when we were amongst them at the whitenes of our skins, ever coveting to touch our breasts, and to view the same. Besides they had our ships in marvelous admiration, & all things els were so strange unto them, as it appeared that none of them had ever seene the like. When we discharged any piece, were it but an hargubuz, they would tremble thereat for very feare, and for the strangenesse of the same: for the weapons which themselves use are bowes and arrowes: the arrowes are but of small canes, headed with a sharpe shell or tooth of a fish sufficient ynough to kill a naked man. Their swordes be of wood hardened: likewise they use wooden breastplates for their defence. They have besides a kinde of club, in the end whereof they fasten the sharpe hornes of a stagge, or other beast. When they goe to warres they cary about with them their idol, *Their weapons.*

of whom they aske counsel, as the Romans were woont of the Oracle of Apollo. They sing songs as they march towardes the battell in stead of drummes and trumpets: their warres are very cruell and bloody, by reason whereof, and of their civill dissentions which have happened of late yeeres amongst them, the people are marvelously wasted, and in some places the countrey left desolate.

Or Pananuaioc.

Adjoyning to this countrey aforesaid called Secotan beginneth a countrey called Pomovik, belonging to another king whom they call Piamacum, and this king is in league with the next king adjoyning towards the setting of the Sunne, and the countrey Newsiok, situate upon a goodly river called Neus: these kings have mortall warre with Wingina king of Wingandacoa: but about two yeeres past there was a peace made betweene the King Piemacum, and the Lord of Secotan, as these men which we have brought with us to England, have given us to understand: but there remaineth a mortall malice in the Secotanes, for many injuries & slaughters done upon them by this Piemacum. They invited divers men, and thirtie women of the best of his countrey to their towne to a feast: and when they were altogether merry, & praying before their Idol, (which is nothing els but a meer illusion of the devil) the captaine or Lord of the town came suddenly upon them, and slewe them every one, reserving the women and children: and these two have oftentimes since perswaded us to surprize Piemacum his towne, having promised and assured us, that there will be found in it great store of commodities. But whether their perswasion be to the ende they may be revenged of their enemies, or for the love they beare to us, we leave that to the tryall hereafter.

Beyond this Island called Roanoak, are maine Islands very plentifull of fruits and other naturall increases, together with many townes, and villages, along the side of the continent, some bounding upon the Islands, and some stretching up further into the land.

When we first had sight of this countrey, some thought

the first land we saw to bee the continent: but after we entred into the Haven, we saw before us another mighty long Sea: for there lyeth along the coast a tracte of Islands, two hundreth miles in length, adjoyning to the Ocean sea, and betweene the Islands, two or three entrances: when you are entred betweene them (these Islands being very narrow for the most part, as in most places sixe miles broad, in some places lesse, in fewe more) then there appeareth another great Sea, containing in bredth in some places, forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles over, before you come unto the continent: and in this inclosed Sea there are above an hundreth Islands of divers bignesses, whereof one is sixteene miles long, at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground, replenished with goodly Cedars, and divers other sweete woods, full of Corrants, of flaxe, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leasure to view. Besides this Island there are many, as I have sayd, some of two, or three, of foure, of five miles, some more, some lesse, most beautifull and pleasant to behold, replenished with Deere, Conies, Hares and divers beasts, and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world, and in greatest abundance.

Roanoak sixteen miles long.

Thus Sir, we have acquainted you with the particulars of our discovery, made this present voyage, as farre foorth as the shortnesse of the time we there continued would affoord us take viewe of: and so contenting our selves with this service at this time, which wee hope hereafter to inlarge, as occasion and assistance shalbe given, we resolved to leave the countrey, and to apply our selves to returne for England, which we did accordingly, and arrived safely in the West of England about the middest of September.

And whereas wee have above certified you of the countrey taken in possession by us, to her Majesties use, and so to yours by her Majesties grant, wee thought good for the better assurance thereof to record some of the particular Gentlemen, & men of accompt, who then were

present, as witnesses of the same, that thereby all occasion of cavill to the title of the countrey, in her Majesties behalfe may be prevented, which otherwise, such as like not the action may use and pretend, whose names are:

[III. 251.]

Master Philip Amadas, } Captaines.
Master Arthur Barlow, }

William Greenevile,
John Wood,
James Browewich,
Henry Greene,
Benjamin Wood,
Simon Ferdinando,
Nicholas Petman,
John Hewes,
} Of the companie.

We brought home also two of the Savages being lustie men, whose names were Wanchese and Manteo.

The voiage made by Sir Richard Greenvile, for Sir Walter Ralegh, to Virginia, in the yeere 1585.

THe 9. day of April, in the yeere abovesayd, we departed from Plymmouth, our Fleete consisting of the number of seven sailes, to wit, the Tyger, of the burden of seven score tunnes, a Flie-boat called the Roe-bucke, of the like burden, the Lyon of a hundred tunnes or thereabouts, the Elizabeth, of fiftie tunnes, and the Dorothie, a small barke: whereunto were also adjoyned for speedy services, two small pinnesses. The principall Gentlemen of our companie, were these, M. Ralph Lane, M. Tomas Candish, M. John Arundell, M. Raymund, M. Stukeley, M. Bremige, M. Vincent, and M. John Clarke, and divers others, whereof some were Captaines, and other some Assistants for counsell, and good directions in the voyage.

The 14. day of Aprill wee fell with Lancerota and Forteventura, Isles of the Canaries, and from thence

we continued our course for Dominica, one of the Antiles of the West India, wherewith we fell the 7. day of May, and the 10. day following wee came to an anker at Cotesa, a little Iland situate neere to the Iland of S. John, where we landed, and refreshed our selves all that day.

They land upon the Iland of S. John de Porto Rico.

The 12. day of May wee came to an anker in the Bay of Moskito, in the Iland of S. John, within a Faulcon shot of the shoare: where our Generall Sir Richard Greenevil, and the most part of our companie landed, and began to fortifie very neere to the Sea side: the river ran by the one side of our forte, and the other two sides were invironed with woods.

The 13. day we began to build a new pinnesse within the Fort, with the timber that wee then felled in the countrey, some part whereof we fet three miles up in the land, and brought it to our Fort upon trucks, the Spaniard not daring to make or offer resistance.

The 16. day there appeared unto us out of the woods eight horsemen of the Spaniards, about a quarter of a mile from our Fort, staying about halfe an houre in viewing our forces: but assoone as they saw ten of our shot marching towards them, they presently retired into the woods.

The 19. day Master Candish, who had bene separated from our fleete in a storme in the Bay of Portugall, arrived at Cotesa, within the sight of the Tiger: we thinking him a farre off to have beene either a Spaniard or Frenchman of warre, thought it good to weigh ankers, and to goe roome with him, which the Tiger did, and discerned him at last to be one of our consorts, for joy of whose comming our ships discharged their ordinance, and saluted him according to the maner of the Seas.

The 22. day twentie other Spanish horsemen shewed themselves to us upon the other side of the river: who being seene, our Generall dispatched 20. footemen towards them, and two horsmen of ours, mounted upon Spanish horses, which wee before had taken in the time

of our being on the Iland: they shewed to our men a flagge of truce, and made signes to have a parle with us: whereupon two of our men went halfe of the way upon the sands, and two of theirs came and met them: the two Spaniards offered very great salutations to our men, but began according to their Spanish proud humors, to expostulate with them about their arrivall and fortifying in their countrey, who notwithstanding by our mens discreet answers were so cooled, that (whereas they were told, that our principall intention was onely to furnish our selves with water and victuales, and other necessaries, wherof we stood in neede, which we craved might be yeelded us with faire and friendly meanes, otherwise our resolution was to practise force, and to [III. 252.] relieve ourselves by the sworde) the Spaniards in conclusion seeing our men so resolute, yeelded to our requestes with large promises of all curtesie, and great favour, and so our men and theirs departed.

The 23. day our pinnesse was finished, and lanched: which being done, our Generall with his Captaines and Gentlemen, marched up into the Countrey about the space of 4. miles, where in a plaine marsh they stayed expecting the comming of the Spaniards according to their promise, to furnish us with victuals: who keeping their olde custome for perjurie and breach of promise, came not, whereupon our Generall fired the woods thereabout, and so retired to our Fort, which the same day was fired also, and each man came aboord to be ready to set saile the next morning.

The 29. day wee set saile from Saint Johns, being many of us stung before upon shoare with the Muskitos: but the same night wee tooke a Spanish Frigat, which was forsaken by the Spaniards upon the sight of us, and the next day in the morning very early we tooke another Frigat, with good and rich fraight, and divers Spaniards of account in her, which afterwards wee ransomed for good round summes, and landed them in S. Johns.

The 26. day our Lieutenant Master Ralph Lane went in one of the Frigats which we had taken, to Roxo bay upon the Southwest side of Saint Johns, to fetch salt, being thither conducted by a Spanish Pilot: as soone as hee arrived there, hee landed with his men to the number of 20. and intrenched himselfe upon the sandes immediatly, compassing one of their salte hils within the trench: who being seene of the Spaniards, there came downe towardes him two or three troopes of horsemen and footmen, who gave him the looking, and gazing on, but durst not come neere him to offer any resistance, so that Master Lane maugre their troopes, caryed their salte aboord and laded his Frigat, and so returned againe to our fleete the 29. day, which road at S. Germans Bay. The same day we all departed, and the next day arrived in the Iland of Hispaniola.

June.

THe 1. day of June we anchored at Isabella, on the North side of Hispaniola.

The 3. day of June, the Governour of Isabella, and Captaine of the Port de Plata, being certified by the reports of sundry Spaniards, who had beene well intertained aboord our shippes by our Generall, that in our fleete were many brave and gallant Gentlemen, who greatly desired to see the Governour aforesayd, he thereupon sent gentle commendations to our Generall, promising within few dayes to come to him in person, which he perfourmed accordingly.

The 5. day the aforesayd Governour accompanied with a lusty Fryer, and twenty other Spaniards, with their servants, and Negroes, came downe to the Sea side, where our ships road at anker, who being seene, our Generall manned immediatly the most part of his boates with the chiefe men of our Fleete, every man appointed, and furnished in the best sort: at the landing of our Generall, the Spanish governour received him very courteously, and the Spanish Gentlemen saluted

our English Gentlemen, and their inferiour sort did also salute our Souldiers and Sea men, liking our men, and likewise their qualities, although at the first they seemed to stand in feare of us, and of so many of our boates, whereof they desired that all might not land their men, yet in the end, the courtesies that passed on both sides were so great, that all feare and mistrust on the Spaniards part was abandoned.

In the meane time while our English Generall and the Spanish Governour discoursed betwixt them of divers matters, as of the state of the Countrey, the multitude of the Townes and people, and the commodities of the Iland, our men provided two banquetting houses covered with greene boughes, the one for the Gentlemen, the other for the servaunts, and a sumptuous banquet was brought in served by us all in plate, with the sound of trumpets, and consort of musicke, wherwith the Spaniards were more then delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spaniardes in recompence of our courtesie, caused a great heard of white buls, and kyne to be brought together from the mountaines, and appoynted for every Gentleman and Captaine that would ride, a horse ready sadled, and then singled out three of the best of them to bee hunted by horsemen after their maner, so that the pastime grewe very pleasant for the space of three houres, wherein all three of the beasts were killed, whereof one tooke the Sea, and there was slaine with a musket. After this sport, many rare presents and gifts were given and bestowed on both parts, and the next day wee played the Marchants in bargaining with them by way of trucke and exchange of divers of their commodities, as horses, mares, kine, buls, goates, swine, sheepe, bull-hides, sugar, ginger, pearle, tabacco, and such like commodities of the Iland.

The 7. day we departed with great good will from the Spaniards from the Iland of Hispaniola: but the wiser sort doe impute this great shew of friendship, and courtesie used towards us by the Spaniards rather to the

force that wee were of, and the vigilancie, and watchfulnesse that was amongst us, then to any heartie good will, or sure friendly intertainement: for doubtlesse if they had bene stronger then wee, wee might have looked for no better curtesie at their handes, then Master John Haukins received at Saint John de Ullua, or John Oxnam neere the streights of Dariene, and divers others of our Countrymen in other places. [III. 253.]

The 8. day we ankred at a small Iland to take Seales, which in that place wee understood to have bene in great quantitie, where the Generall and certaine others with him in the pinnesse were in very great danger to have beene all cast away, but by the helpe of God they escaped the hasard, and returned aboord the Admirall in safetie.

They land on the Iles of Caicos.

The 9. day we arrived and landed in the Ile of Caycos, in which Iland we searched for salte-pondes, upon the advertisment and information of a Portugall: who in deede abused our Generall and us, deserving a halter for his hire, if it had so pleased us.

Guanima.

The 12. we ankered at Guanima, and landed.

Cyguateo.

The 15. and 16. we ankered and landed at Cyguateo.

The 20. we fell with the maine of Florida.

The 23. we were in great danger of a wracke on a breach called the Cape of Feare.

They land in Florida.

The 24. we came to anker in a harbour, where wee caught in one tyde so much fish as would have yeelded us twentie pounds in London: this was our first landing in Florida.

The 26. we came to anker at Wocokon.

The 29. wee weighed anker to bring the Tyger into the harbour, where through the unskilfulnesse of the Master whose name was Fernando, the Admirall strooke on ground, and sunke.

July.

The 3. we sent word of our arriving at Wococon, to Wingina at Roanoak.

The 6. M. John Arundel was sent to the maine, and Manteo with him: and Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten the same day were sent to Croatoan, where they

found two of our men left there with 30. other by Captaine Reymond, some 20. dayes before.

The 8. Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten returned, with two of our men found by them, to us at Wocokon.

The 11. day the Generall accompanied in his Tilt boate with Master John Arundell, Master Stukeley, and divers other Gentlemen, Master Lane, Master Candish, Master Hariot, and twentie others in the new pinnesse, Captaine Amadas, Captaine Clarke, with ten others in a shipboat, Francis Brooke, and John White in another ship-boate, passed over the water from Wococon to the maine land victualled for eight dayes, in which voyage we first discovered the townes of Pomejok, Aquascogoc and Secotan, and also the great lake called by the Savages Paquipe, with divers other places, and so returned with that discovery to our Fleete.

The 12. we came to the Towne of Pomeiok.

The 13. we passed by water to Aquascogok.

The 15. we came to Secotan, and were well entertained there of the Savages.

The 16. wee returned thence, and one of our boates with the Admirall was sent to Aquascogok, to demaund a silver cup which one of the Savages had stollen from us, and not receiving it according to his promise, wee burnt, and spoyled their corne, and Towne, all the people being fled.

The 18. we returned from the discovery of Secotan, and the same day came aboord our Fleete ryding at Wococon.

The 21. our Fleete ankering at Wococon, we wayed anker for Hatoraske.

The 27. our Fleete ankered at Hatorask, and there we rested.

The 29. Grangino brother to king Wingina came aboord the Admirall, and Manteo with him.

August. The 2. the Admirall was sent to Weapomeiok.

The 5. M. John Arundell was sent for England.

The 25. our Generall wayed anker, and set saile for England.

About the 31. he tooke a Spanish ship of 300 tunne richly loaden, boording her with a boate made with boards of chests, which fell asunder, and sunke at the ships side, assoone as ever he and his men were out of it.

The 10. of September, by foule weather the Generall then shipped in the prize, lost sight of the Tyger. *September.*

The 6. the Tyger fell with the Landes end, and the same day came to anker at Falmouth. *October.*

The 18. the General came with the prize to Plymmouth, and was courteously received by divers of his worshipfull friends.

The names of those as well Gentlemen as others, that remained one whole yeere in Virginia, under the Governement of Master Ralph Lane. [III. 254.]

MAster Philip Amadas, Admirall of the countrey.
Master Hariot.
Master Acton.
Master Edward Stafford.
Thomas Luddington.
Master Marvyn.
Master Gardiner.
Captaine Vaughan.
Master Kendall.
Master Prideox.
Robert Holecroft.
Rise Courtney.
Master Hugh Rogers.
Master Thomas Harvie.
Master Snelling.
Master Anthony Russe.
Master Allyne.
Richard Gilbert.
Steven Pomarie.
John Brocke.
Bennet Harrie.
James Stevenson.
Charles Stevenson.
Christopher Lowde.
Jeremie Man.
James Mason.
David Salter.
Richard Ireland.
Thomas Bookener.
William Philips.
Randall Mayne.
James Skinner.
George Eseven.
John Chandeler.
Philip Blunt.
Richard Poore.

Master Michael Polison.
John Cage.
Thomas Parre.
William Randes.
Gefferey Churchman.
William Farthow.
John Taylor.
Philip Robyns.
Thomas Philips.
Valentine Beale.
Thomas Foxe.
Darby Glande.
Edward Nugen.
Edward Kelley.
John Gostigo.
Erasmus Clefs.
Edward Ketcheman.
John Linsey.
Thomas Rottenbury.
Roger Deane.
John Harris.
Francis Norris.
Matthew Lyne.
Edward Kettell.
Thomas Wisse.
Robert Biscombe.
William Backhouse.
William White.
Henry Potkin.
Dennis Barnes.
Joseph Borges.
Dougham Gannes.
William Tenche.
Randall Latham.
Thomas Hulme.
Walter Mill.
Robert Yong.
Marmaduke Constable.
Thomas Hesket.
William Wasse.
John Fever.
Daniel.
Thomas Taylor.
Richard Humfrey.
John Wright.
Gabriel North.
Bennet Chappell.
Richard Sare.
James Lacie.
Smolkin.
Thomas Smart.
Robert.
John Evans.
Roger Large.
Humfrey Garden.
Francis Whitton.
Rowland Griffyn.
William Millard.
John Twit.
Edward Seclemore.
John Anwike.
Christopher Marshall.
David Williams.
Nicholas Swabber.
Edward Chipping.
Silvester Beching.
Vincent Cheyne.
Hance Walters.
Edward Barecombe.
Thomas Skeuelabs.
William Walters.

An extract of Master Ralph Lanes letter to M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire, and another Gentleman of the middle Temple, from Virginia.

IN the meane while you shall understand, that since Sir Richard Greenvils departure from us, as also before, we have discovered the maine to be the goodliest oyle under the cope of heaven, so abounding with sweete trees, that bring such sundry rich and pleasant gummes, grapes of such greatnesse, yet wilde, as France, Spaine nor Italie have no greater, so many sorts of Apothecarie drugs, such severall kindes of flaxe, & one kind like silke, the same gathered of a grasse, as common there, as grasse is here. And now within these few dayes we have found here Maiz or Guinie wheate, whose eare yeeldeth corne for bread 400. upon one eare, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect sugar, also Terra Samia, otherwise Terra sigillata. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing Territorie of the world: for the continent is of an huge and unknowen greatnesse, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely, and the climate so wholsome, that wee had not one sicke since we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure my selfe being inhabited with English, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it. For this already [III. 255.] we finde, that what commodities soever Spaine, France, Italy, or the East partes doe yeeld unto us, in wines of all sortes, in oyles, in flaxe, in rosens, pitch, frankensence, corrans, sugers, and such like, these parts doe abound with the growth of them all, but being Savages that possesse the land, they know no use of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they West or East Indies, have, here wee finde great abundance of. The people naturally are most

The rich and manifold commodities of Virginia.

Commodities fit to carie to Virginia.

courteous, and very desirous to have clothes, but especially of course cloth rather then silke, course canvas they also like well of, but copper caryeth the price of all, so it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt and M. H. I have joyned you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I love dearely well, and commending me most heartily to you both, I commit you to the tuition of the Almightie. From the new Fort in Virginia, this third of September, 1585.

Your most assured friend RALPH LANE.

An account of the particularities of the imployments of the English men left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greenevill under the charge of Master Ralph Lane Generall of the same, from the 17. of August 1585. until the 18. of June 1586. at which time they departed the Countrey: sent and directed to Sir Walter Ralegh.

THat I may proceede with order in this discourse, I thinke it requisite to divide it into two parts. The first shall declare the particularities of such parts of the Countrey within the maine, as our weake number, and supply of things necessarie did inable us to enter into the discovery of.

2. parts of this discourse.

The second part shall set downe the reasons generally moving us to resolve on our departure at the instant with the Generall Sir Francis Drake, and our common request for passage with him, when the barkes, pinnesses, and boates with the Masters and Mariners meant by him to bee left in the Countrey, for the supply of such, as for a further time meant to have stayed there, were caryed away with tempest and foule weather: In the beginning whereof shall bee declared the conspiracie of Pemisapan, with the Savages of the maine to have cut us off, &c.

CHART OF VIRGINIA BY JOHN WHITE

The first part declaring the particularities of the Countrey of Virginia.

FIrst therefore touching the particularities of the Countrey, you shall understand that our discoverie of the same hath beene extended from the Iland of Roanoak, (the same having bene the place of our settlement or inhabitation) into the South, into the North, into the North-west, and into the West.

The uttermost place to the Southward of any discovery was Secotan, being by estimation fourescore miles distant from Roanoak. The passage from thence was through a broad sound within the mayne, the same being without kenning of lande, and yet full of flats and shoalds: we had but one boate with foure oares to passe through the same, which boate could not carry above fifteene men with their furniture, baggage, and victuall for seven dayes at the most: and as for our pinnesse, besides that she drew too deep water for that shallow sound, she would not stirre for an oare: for these and other reasons (winter also being at hand) we thought good wholly to leave the discovery of those parts untill our stronger supply.

To the Northward our furthest discovery was to the Chesepians, distant from Roanoak about 130. miles, the passage to it was very shallow and most dangerous, by reason of the bredth of the sound, and the little succour that upon any flawe was there to be had.

The excellencie of the seate of Chesepiook.

But the Territorie and soyle of the Chesepians (being distant fifteene miles from the shoare) was for pleasantnes of seate, for temperature of Climate, for fertilitie of soyle, and for the commoditie of the Sea, besides multitude of Beares (being an excellent good victuall) with great woods of Sassafras, and Wallnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoever.

There be sundry Kings, whom they call Weroances, and Countreys of great fertility adjoyning to the same, as

the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opossians, which all came to visite the Colonie of the English, which I had for a time appointed to be resident there.

To the Northwest the farthest place of our discovery was to Chawanook distant from Roanoak about 130. miles. Our passage thither lyeth through a broad sound, but all fresh water, and the chanell of a great depth, navigable for good shipping, but out of the chanell full of shoalds.

[III. 256.] The Townes about the waters side situated by the way are these following: Passaquenoke The womans Towne, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muscamunge, & Metackwem: all these being under the jurisdiction of the king of Weapomeiok, called Okisco: from Muscamunge we enter into the River, and jurisdiction of Chawanook: There the River beginneth to straighten untill it come to Chawanook, and then groweth to be as narrow as the Thames betewene Westminster, and Lambeth.

Betwene Muscamunge and Chawanook upon the left hand as wee passe thither, is a goodly high land, and there is a Towne which we called The blinde Towne, but the Savages called it Ohanoak, and hath a very goodly corne field belonging unto it: it is subject to Chawanook.

The towne of Chawanook able to make 700. men of warre.

Chawanook it selfe is the greatest Province & Seigniorie lying upon that River, and the very Towne it selfe is able to put 700. fighting men into the fielde, besides the force of the Province it selfe.

The King of the sayd Province is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his lims, but otherwise for a Savage, a very grave and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not onely of his owne Countrey, and the disposition of his owne men, but also of his neighbours round about him as well farre as neere, and of the commodities that eache Countrey yeeldeth. When I had him prisoner with me, for two dayes that we were together, he gave mee more under-

standing and light of the Countrey then I had received by all the searches and Savages that before I or any of my companie had had conference with: it was in March last past 1586. Amongst other things he tolde me, that going three dayes journey in a Canoa, up his River of Chawanook, and then descending to the land, you are within foure dayes journey to passe over land Northeast to a certaine Kings countrey, whose Province lyeth upon the Sea, but his place of greatest strength is an Island situate, as hee described unto mee, in a Bay, the water round about the Island very deepe.

An Iland in a Bay.

Out of this Bay hee signified unto mee, that this King had so great quantitie of Pearle, and doeth so ordinarily take the same, as that not onely his owne skinnes that hee weareth, and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers are full set with the sayd Pearle, but also his beds, and houses are garnished with them, and that hee hath such quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to see.

Pearles in exceeding quantitie.

He shewed me that the sayd King was with him at Chawanook two yeeres before, & brought him certaine Pearle, but the same of the worst sort, yet was he faine to buy them of him for copper at a deere rate, as he thought. Hee gave mee a rope of the same pearle, but they were blacke, and naught, yet many of them were very great, and a few amongst a number very orient and round, all which I lost with other things of mine, comming aboord Sir Francis Drake his Fleete: yet he tolde me that the sayd King had great store of Pearle that were white, great, and round, and that his blacke Pearle his men did take out of shallow water, but the white Pearle his men fished for in very deepe water.

It seemed to me by his speach, that the sayd King had traffique with white men that had clothes as we have, for these white Pearle, and that was the reason that hee would not depart with other then with blacke Pearles, to those of the same countrey.

The king of Chawanook promised to give me guids to go over land into that kings countrey whensoever I would: but he advised me to take good store of men with me, and good store of victuall, for he said, that king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his Countrey, and especially to meddle with the fishing for any Pearle there, and that hee was able to make a great many of men into the field, which he sayd would fight very well.

Hereupon I resolved with my selfe, that if your supplie had come before the ende of Aprill, and that you had sent any store of boates or men, to have had them made in any reasonable time, with a sufficient number of men and victuals to have found us untill the new corne were come in, I would have sent a small barke with two pinnesses about by Sea to the Northward to have found out the Bay he spake of, and to have sounded the barre if there were any, which should have ridden there in the sayd Bay about that Iland, while I with all the small boates I could make, and with two hundred men would have gone up to the head of the river of Chawanook with the guids that Menatonon would have given me, which I would have bene assured should have beene of his best men, (for I had his best beloved sonne prisoner with me) who also should have kept me companie in an handlocke with the rest, foote by foote, all the voyage over land.

An enterprise of speciall importance.

My meaning was further at the head of the River in the place of my descent where I would have left my boates, to have raised a sconse with a small trench, and a pallisado upon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boates I would have left five and twentie, or thirtie men, with the rest would I have marched with as much victuall as every man could have caried, with their furniture, mattocks, spades and axes, two dayes journey. In the ende of my march upon some convenient plot would I have raised another sconse according to the former, where I would have

[III. 257.]

left fifteene or twentie. And if it would have fallen out conveniently, in the way I would have raised my saide sconse upon some Corne fielde, that my company might have lived upon it.

Whither M. Ralfe Lane meant to remove.

And so I would have holden this course of insconsing every two dayes march, untill I had bene arrived at the Bay or Port hee spake of: which finding to bee worth the possession, I would there have raised a maine fort, both for the defence of the harborough, and our shipping also, and would have reduced our whole habitation from Roanoak and from the harborough and port there (which by proofe is very naught) unto this other beforementioned, from whence, in the foure dayes march before specified, could I at al times returne with my company back unto my boates riding under my sconse, very neere whereunto directly from the West runneth a most notable River, and in all those parts most famous, called the River of Moratoc. This River openeth into the broad Sound of Weapomeiok. And whereas the River of Chawanook, and all the other Sounds, and Bayes, salt and fresh, shewe no current in the world in calme weather, but are mooved altogether with the winde: This River of Moratoc hath so violent a current from the West and Southwest, that it made me almost of opinion that with oares it would scarse be navigable: it passeth with many creekes and turnings, and for the space of thirtie miles rowing, and more, it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Green-wich and the Isle of dogges, in some place more, and in some lesse: the current runneth as strong, being entred so high into the River, as at London bridge upon a vale water.

And for that not onely Menatonon, but also the Savages of Moratoc themselves doe report strange things of the head of that River, and that from Moratoc it selfe, which is a principall Towne upon that River, it is thirtie dayes as some of them say, and some say fourtie dayes voyage to the head thereof, which head

they say springeth out of a maine rocke in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a most violent streame: and further, that this huge rock standeth so neere unto a Sea, that many times in stormes (the winde comming outwardly from the sea) the waves thereof are beaten into the said fresh streame, so that the fresh water for a certaine space, groweth salt and brackish: I tooke a resolution with my selfe, having dismissed Menatonon upon a ransome agreed for, and sent his sonne into the Pinnesse to Roanoak, to enter presently so farre into that River with two double whirries, and fourtie persons one or other, as I could have victuall to cary us, until we could meete with more either of the Moratoks, or of the Mangoaks, which is another kinde of Savages, dwelling more to the Westward of the said River: but the hope of recovering more victuall from the Savages made mee and my company as narrowly to escape starving in that discoverie before our returne, as ever men did, that missed the same.

Wingina changeth his name.

For Pemisapan, who had changed his name of Wingina upon the death of his brother Granganimo, had given both the Choanists, and Mangoaks worde of my purpose touching them, I having bene inforced to make him privie to the same, to bee served by him of a guide to the Mangoaks, and yet hee did never rest to solicite continually my going upon them, certifying mee of a generall assembly even at that time made by Menatonon at Chawanook of all his Weroances, and allies to the number of three thousand bowes, preparing to come upon us at Roanoak, and that the Mangoaks also were joyned in the same confederacie, who were able of themselves to bring as many more to the enterprise: And true it was that at that time the assembly was holden at Chawanook about us, as I found at my comming thither, which being unlooked for did so dismay them, as it made us have the better hand at them. But this confederacie against us of the Choanists and Mangoaks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemisapan him-

Conspiracie of the Savages against the English.

selfe, as Menatonon confessed unto me, who sent them continual word, that our purpose was fully bent to destroy them: on the other side he told me, that they had the like meaning towards us.

Hee in like sort having sent worde to the Mangoaks of mine intention to passe up into their River, and to kill them (as he saide) both they and the Moratoks, with whom before wee were entred into a league, and they had ever dealt kindly with us, abandoned their Townes along the River, and retired themselves with their *Crenepos, and their Corne within the maine: insomuch as having passed three dayes voyage up the River, wee could not meete a man, nor finde a graine of Corne in any their Townes: whereupon considering with my selfe that wee had but two dayes victuall left, and that wee were then 160. miles from home, besides casualtie of contrary windes or stormes, and suspecting treason of our owne Savages in the discoverie of our voyage intended, though wee had no intention to bee hurtfull to any of them, otherwise then for our copper to have had corne of them: I at night upon the Corps of guard, before the putting foorth of Centinels, advertised the whole company of the case wee stoode in for victuall, and of mine opinion that we were betrayed by our owne Savages, and of purpose drawen foorth by them upon vaine hope to be in the ende starved, seeing all the Countrey fled before us, and therefore while wee had those two dayes victuall left, I thought it good for us to make our returne homeward, and that it were necessary for us to get the other side of the Sound of Weopomeiok in time, where wee might be relieved upon the weares of Chypanum, and the womens Towne, although the people were fled.

* *Their women.*

[III. 258.]

Thus much I signified unto them, as the safest way: neverthelesse I did referre it to the greatest number of voyces, whether wee should adventure the spending of our whole victuall in some further viewe of that most goodly River in hope to meete with some better happe,

or otherwise to retire our selves backe againe. And for that they might be the better advised, I willed them to deliberate all night upon the matter, and in the morning at our going aborde to set our course according to the desires of the greatest part. Their resolution fully and wholy was (and not three founde to bee of the contrary opinion) that whiles there was left but one halfe pinte of Corne for a man, wee should not leave the search of that River, and that there were in the companie two Mastives, upon the pottage of which with Sassafras leaves (if the worst fell out) the company would make shift to live two dayes, which time would bring them downe the current to the mouth of the River, and to the entrie of the Sound, and in two dayes more at the farthest they hoped to crosse the Sound and to bee relieved by the weares, which two dayes they would fast rather then be drawen backe a foote till they had seene the Mangoaks, either as friendes or foes. This resolution of theirs did not a little please mee, since it came of themselves, although for mistrust of that which afterwards did happen, I pretended to have bene rather of the contrary opinion.

And that which made me most desirous to have some doings with the Mangoaks either in friendship or otherwise to have had one or two of them prisoners, was, for that it is a thing most notorious to all the countrey, that there is a Province to the which the said Mangoaks have recourse and trafique up that River of Moratoc, which hath a marveilous and most strange Minerall. This Mine is so notorious amongst them, as not onely to the Savages dwelling up the said river, and also to the Savages of Chawanook, and all them to the Westward, but also to all them of the maine: the Countreis name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

A marveilous Mineral in the countrey of Chaunis Temoatan.

The Minerall they say is Wassador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Wassador every mettall

whatsoever: they say it is of the colour of our copper, but our copper is better then theirs: and the reason is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very soft, and pale: they say that they take the saide mettall out of a river that falleth very swift from hie rockes and hils, and they take it in shallow water: the maner is this. They take a great bowle by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrappe a skinne over the hollow part thereof, leaving one part open to receive in the minerall: that done, they watch the comming downe of the current, and the change of the colour of the water, and then suddenly chop downe the said bowle with the skinne, and receive into the same as much oare as will come in, which is ever as much as their bowle will holde, which presently they cast into a fire, and foorthwith it melteth, and doeth yeelde in five parts, at the first melting, two parts of metall for three parts of oare. Of this metall the Mangoaks have so great store, by report of all the Savages adjoyning, that they beautifie their houses with great plates of the same: and this to be true, I received by report of all the countrey, and particularly by yong Skiko, the King of Chawanooks sonne my prisoner, who also himselfe had bene prisoner with the Mangoaks, and set downe all the particularities to me before mentioned: but hee had not bene at Chawnis Temoatan himselfe: for hee said, it was twentie dayes journey overland from the Mangoaks, to the said Mineral Countrey, and that they passed through certaine other territories betweene them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said Countrey.

Upon report of the premisses, which I was very inquisitive in all places where I came to take very particular information of, by all the Savages that dwelt towards those parts, and especially of Menatonon himselfe, who in every thing did very particularly informe mee, and promised me guides of his owne men, who should passe over with me, even to the said Country

of Chaunis Temoatan (for overland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one dayes journey from Sunne rising to Sunne setting, whereas by water it is seven dayes with the soonest:) These things, I say, made me very desirous by all meanes possible to recover the Mangoaks, and to get some of that their copper for an assay, and therefore I willingly yeelded to their [III. 259.] resolution: But it fell out very contrary to all expectation, and likelyhood: for after two dayes travell, and our whole victuall spent, lying on shoare all night, wee could never see man, onely fires we might perceive made alongst the shoare where we were to passe, and up into the Countrey, untill the very last day. In the evening whereof, about three of the clocke wee heard certaine Savages call as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answere them, they presently began a song, as we thought, in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo presently betooke him to his piece, and tolde mee that they meant to fight with us: which worde was not so soone spoken by him, and the light horseman ready to put to shoare, but there lighted a vollie of their arrowes amongst them in the boat, but did no hurt (God be thanked) to any man. Immediatly, the other boate lying ready with their shot to skoure the place for our hand weapons to lande upon, which was presently done, although the land was very high and steepe, the Savages forthwith quitted the shoare, and betooke themselves to flight: wee landed, and having faire and easily followed for a smal time after them, who had wooded themselves we know not where: the Sunne drawing then towards the setting, and being then assured that the next day if wee would pursue them, though we might happen to meete with them, yet wee should be assured to meete with none of their victuall, which we then had good cause to thinke of: therefore choosing for the company a con-

A conflict begun by the Savages.

A.D. 1585-86.

venient ground in safetie to lodge in for the night, making a strong Corps of guard, and putting out good Centinels, I determined the next morning before the rising of the Sunne to be going backe againe, if possibly we might recover the mouth of the river, into the broad sound, which at my first motion I found my whole company ready to assent unto: for they were nowe come to their Dogges porredge, that they had bespoken for themselves if that befell them which did, and I before did mistrust we should hardly escape. The ende was, we came the next day by night to the Rivers mouth within foure or five miles of the same, having rowed in one day downe the current, as much as in foure dayes wee had done against the same: we lodged upon an Iland, where we had nothing in the world to eate but pottage of Sassafras leaves, the like whereof for a meate was never used before as I thinke. The broad sound wee had to passe the next day all fresh and fasting: that day the winde blew so strongly, and the billow so great, that there was no possibilitie of passage without sinking of our boates. This was upon Easter eve, which was fasted very truely. Upon Easter day in the morning the winde comming very calme, we entred the sound, and by foure of the clocke we were at Chipanum, whence all the Savages that we had left there were fled, but their weares did yeelde us some fish, as God was pleased not utterly to suffer us to be lost: for some of our company of the light horsemen were farre spent. The next morning wee arrived at our home Roanoak.

The great current of the River of Morattico.

I have set downe this Voyage somewhat particularly, to the ende it may appeare unto you (as true it is) that there wanted no great good will from the most to the least amongst us, to have perfited this discoverie of the Mine: for that the discovery of a good Mine, by the goodnesse of God, or a passage to the South-sea, or some way to it, and nothing els can bring this Countrey in request to be inhabited by our nation.

And with the discovery of either of the two above shewed, it will bee the most sweete and healthfullest climate, and therewithall the most fertile soyle (being manured) in the world: and then will Sassafras, and many other rootes and gummes there found make good marchandise and lading for shipping, which otherwise of themselves will not be worth the fetching.

Provided also, that there be found out a better harborough then yet there is, which must be to the Northward, if any there bee, which was mine intention to have spent this Summer in the search of, and of the Mine of Chawnis Temoatan: the one I would have done, if the barkes that I should have had of Sir Francis Drake, by his honourable courtesie, had not bene driven away by storme: the other if your supply of more men, and some other necessaries had come to us in any convenient sufficiencie. For this river of Moratico promiseth great things, and by the opinion of M. Hariots the head of it by the description of the Countrey, either riseth from the bay of Mexico, or els from very neere unto the same, that openeth out into the South sea.

And touching the Minerall, thus doeth M. Youghan affirme, that though it be but copper, seeing the Savages are able to melt it, it is one of the richest Minerals in the world.

Wherefore a good harborough found to the Northward, as before is saide, and from thence foure dayes overland, to the River of Choanoak sconses being raised, from whence againe overland through the province of Choanoak one dayes voyage to the first towne of the Mangoaks up the river of Moratico by the way, as also upon the said River for the defence of our boats like sconses being set, in this course of proceeding you shall [III. 260.] cleare your selfe from al those dangers and broad shallow sounds before mentioned, and gaine within foure dayes travell into the heart of the maine 200. miles at the least, and so passe your discovery into that most notable

countrey, and to the likeliest parts of the maine, with farre greater felicitie then otherwise can bee performed.

Thus Sir, I have though simply, yet truely set downe unto you, what my labour with the rest of the gentlemen, and poore men of our company (not without both paine and perill, which the Lord in his mercy many wayes delivered us from) could yeeld unto you, which might have bene performed in some more perfection, if the Lord had bene pleased that onely that which you had provided for us had at the first bene left with us, or that hee had not in his eternall providence now at the last set some other course in these things, than the wisedome of man coulde looke into, which truely the carying away by a most strange & unlooked for storme of all our provision, with Barks, Master, Mariners, and sundry also of mine owne company, al having bene so courteously supplied by the generall Sir Francis Drake, the same having bene most sufficient to have performed the greatest part of the premisses, must ever make me to thinke the hand of God onely (for some his good purpose to my selfe yet unknowen) to have bene in the matter.

The second part touching the conspiracie of Pemisapan, the discovery of the same, and at the last, of our request to depart with Sir Francis Drake for England.

ENsenore a Savage father to Pemisapan being the onely friend to our nation that we had amongst them, and about the King, died the 20. of April 1586. He alone had before opposed himselfe in their consultations against all matters proposed against us, which both the King and all the rest of them after Grangemoes death, were very willing to have preferred. And he was not onely by the meere providence of God during his life, a meane to save us from hurt, as poysonings and such like,

but also to doe us very great good, and singularly in this.

The King was advised and of himselfe disposed, as a ready meane to have assuredly brought us to ruine in the moneth of March 1586. himselfe also with all his Savages to have runne away from us, and to have left his ground in the Iland unsowed: which if hee had done, there had bene no possibilitie in common reason, (but by the immediate hande of God) that wee coulde have bene preserved from starving out of hande. For at that time wee had no weares for fish, neither coulde our men skill of the making of them, neither had wee one graine of Corne for seede to put into the ground.

This skill of making weares would be learned.

In mine absence on my voyage that I had made against the Chaonists, and Mangoaks, they had raised a brute among themselves, that I and my company were part slaine, and part starved by the Chaonists, and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be starved, but the other false.

Neverthelesse untill my returne it tooke such effect in Pemisapans breast, and in those against us, that they grew not onely into contempt of us, but also (contrary to their former reverend opinion in shew, of the Almightie God of heaven, and Jesus Christ whom wee serve and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confesse the only God) now they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lorde God was not God, since hee suffered us to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed of the Renapoaks, for so they call by that generall name all the inhabitants of the whole maine, of what province soever. Insomuch as olde Ensenore, neither any of his fellowes, could for his sake have no more credite for us: and it came so farre that the king was resolved to have presently gone away as is aforesaid.

But even in the beginning of this bruite I returned, which when hee sawe contrary to his expectation, and the advertisement that hee had received: that not onely my selfe, and my company were all safe, but also by report of

his owne 3. Savages which had bene with mee besides Manteo in that voyage, that is to say, Tetepano, his sisters husband Eracano, and Cossine, that the Chanoists and Mangoaks (whose name and multitude besides their valour is terrible to all the rest of the provinces) durst not for the most part of them abide us, and that those that did abide us were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon prisoner, and brought his sonne that he best loved to Roanoak with mee, it did not a little asswage all devises against us: on the other side, it made Ensenores opinions to bee received againe with greater respects. For he had often before tolde them, and then renewed those his former speeches, both to the king and the rest, that wee were the servants of God, and that wee were not subject to bee destroyed by them: but contrarywise, that they amongst them that sought our destruction, should finde their owne, and not bee able to worke ours, and [III. 261.] that we being dead men were able to doe them more hurt, then now we could do being alive: an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wisest amongst them, and of their old men, as also, that they have bene in the night, being 100. miles from any of us, in the aire shot at, and stroken by some men of ours, that by sicknesse had died among them: and many of them holde opinion, that we be dead men returned into the world againe, and that wee doe not remaine dead but for a certaine time, and that then we returne againe.

All these speeches then againe grewe in ful credite with them, the King, and all, touching us, when hee sawe the small troupe returned again, and in that sort from those whose very names were terrible unto them: But that which made up the matter on our side for that time was an accident, yea rather (as all the rest was) the good providence of the Almightie for the saving of us, which was this.

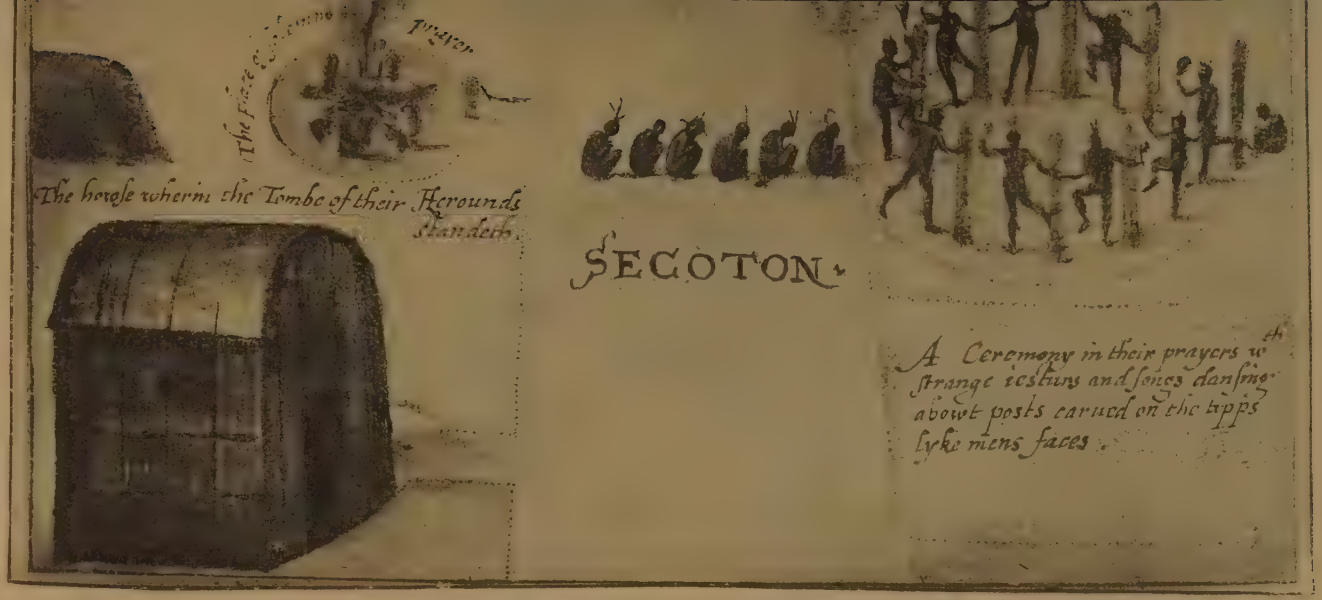
Within certaine dayes after my returne from the sayd journey, Menatonon sent a messenger to visite his sonne the prisoner with me, and sent me certaine pearle

for a present, or rather, as Pemisapan tolde mee, for the ransome of his sonne, and therefore I refused them: but the greatest cause of his sending then, was to signifie unto mee, that hee had commaunded Okisko King of Weopomiok, to yeelde himselfe servant, and homager, to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Raleigh: to perfourme which commandement received from Menatonon, the sayde Okisko joyntly with this Menatonons messenger sent foure and twentie of his principallest men to Roanoak to Pemisapan, to signifie that they were ready to perfourme the same, and so had sent those his men to let mee knowe that from that time forwarde, hee, and his successours were to acknowledge her Majestie their onely Soveraigne, and next unto her, as is aforesayd.

All which being done, and acknowledged by them all, in the presence of Pemisapan his father, and all his Savages in counsell then with him, it did for the time thorowly (as it seemed) change him in disposition toward us: Insomuch as foorthwith Ensenore wanne this resolution of him, that out of hand he should goe about, and withall, to cause his men to set up weares foorthwith for us: both which he at that present went in hande withall, and did so labour the expedition of it, that in the end of April he had sowed a good quantitie of ground, so much as had bene sufficient, to have fed our whole company (God blessing the grouth) and that by the belly, for a whole yere: besides that he gave us a certaine plot of ground for our selves to sowe. All which put us in marveilous comfort, if we could passe from Aprill untill the beginning of July, (which was to have bene the beginning of their harvest,) that then a newe supply out of England or els our owne store would well ynough maintaine us: All our feare was of the two moneths betwixt, in which meane space if the Savages should not helpe us with Cassavi, and Chyna, and that our weares should faile us, (as often they did,) we might very well starve, notwithstanding the growing corne, like the starving

The beginning of their harvest in July.

Their rype corne
Their greene corne
Corne newly sprong
Their sitting at meate


The howse wherin the Tombe of their Herounds standeth
SECOTON.
A Ceremony in their prayers w strange ecstasis and sones dansing about posts carued on the tipps lyke mens faces

THE VILLAGE OF SECOTON

horse in the stable, with the growing grasse, as the proverbe is: which wee very hardly had escaped but onely by the hand of God, as it pleased him to try us. For within few dayes after, as before is saide, Ensenore our friend died, who was no sooner dead, but certaine of our great enemies about Pemisapan, as Osacan a Weroance, Tanaquiny and Wanchese most principally, were in hand againe to put their old practises in ure against us, which were readily imbraced, and all their former devises against us, reneued, and new brought in question. But that of starving us, by their forbearing to sow, was broken by Ensenore in his life, by having made the King all at one instant to sow his ground, not onely in the Iland, but also at Dasamonquepeio in the maine, within two leagues over against us. Neverthelesse there wanted no store of mischievous practises among them, and of all they resolved principally of this following.

The conspiracie of Pemisapan.

First that Okisko king of Weopomeiok with the Mandoages should bee mooved, and with great quantitie of copper intertained to the number of 7. or 8. hundreth bowes, to enterprise the matter thus to be ordered. They of Weopomeiok should be invited to a certaine kind of moneths minde which they doe use to solemnise in their Savage maner for any great personage dead, and should have bene for Ensenore. At this instant also should the Mandoaks, who were a great people, with the Chesepians & their friends to the number of 700. of them, be armed at a day appointed to the maine of Dasamonquepeio, and there lying close at the signe of fiers, which should interchangeably be made on both sides, when Pemisapan with his troupe above named should have executed me, and some of our Weroances (as they called all our principall officers,) the maine forces of the rest should have come over into the Iland, where they ment to have dispatched the rest of the company, whom they did imagine to finde both dismayed and dispersed abroad in the Island, seeking of crabs and fish to live withall. The maner of their enterprise was this.

Tarraquine and Andacon two principall men about [III. 262.] Pemisapan, and very lustie fellowes, with twentie more appointed to them had the charge of my person to see an order taken for the same, which they ment should in this sort have been executed. In the dead time of the night they would have beset my house, and put fire in the reedes that the same was covered with: meaning (as it was likely) that my selfe would have come running out of a sudden amazed in my shirt without armes, upon the instant whereof they would have knocked out my braines.

The forme of the treason.

The same order was given to certaine of his fellowes, for M. Heriots: so for all the rest of our better sort, all our houses at one instant being set on fire as afore is saide, and that as well for them of the fort, as for us at the towne. Now to the ende that we might be the fewer in number together, and so bee the more easily dealt withall (for in deed tenne of us with our armes prepared, were a terrour to a hundred of the best sort of them,) they agreed and did immediatly put it in practise, that they should not for any copper sell us any victuals whatsoever: besides that in the night they should sende to have our weares robbed, and also to cause them to bee broken, and once being broken never to be repaired againe by them. By this meanes the King stood assured, that I must bee enforced for lacke of sustenance there, to disband my company into sundry places to live upon shell fish, for so the Savages themselves doe, going to Hatorask, Croatoan, and other places, fishing and hunting, while their grounds be in sowing, and their corne growing: which failed not his expectation. For the famine grew so extreeme among us, or weares failing us of fish, that I was enforced to sende Captaine Stafford with 20. with him to Croatoan my Lord Admirals Iland to serve two turnes in one, that is to say, to feede himselfe and his company, and also to keepe watch if any shipping came upon the coast to warne us of the same. I sent M. Pridiox with the pinnesse to Hatorask, and ten with him, with the Provost Marshal to live there, and also to wait

The sufficiencie of our men to deale against the Savages.

10. to an hundreth.

The Savages live by fishing, and hunting, till harvest.

for shipping: also I sent every weeke 16. or 20. of the rest of the company to the maine over against us, to live of Casada and oysters.

In the meane while Pemisapan went of purpose to Dasamonquepeio for three causes: The one to see his grounds there broken up, and sowed for a second crop: the other to withdrawe himselfe from my dayly sending to him for supply of victuall for my company, for hee was afraid to deny me any thing, neither durst hee in my presence but by colour and with excuses, which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the ende as I had reason, to give him the jumpe once for all: but in the meane whiles, as I had ever done before, I and mine bare all wrongs, and accepted of all excuses.

My purpose was to have relied my selfe with Menatonon, and the Chaonists, who in trueth as they are more valiant people and in greater number then the rest, so are they more faithfull in their promises, and since my late being there had given many tokens of earnest desire they had to joyne in perfect league with us, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemisapan and Weopomeiok for making him beleeve such tales of us.

The third cause of this going to Dasamonquepeio was to dispatch his messengers to Weopomeiok, and to the Mandoages as aforesaid: all which he did with great imprest of copper in hand, making large promises to them of greater spoile.

The answere within few dayes after came from Weopomeiok, which was devided into two parts. First for the King Okisko, who denied to be of the partie for himselfe, or any of his especiall followers, and therefore did immediatly retire himselfe with his force into the maine: the other was concerning the rest of the said province who accepted of it: and in like sort the Mandoags received the imprest.

The day of their assembly aforesaid at Roanoak was appointed the 10. of June: all which the premises were discovered by Skyco, the King Menatonon his sonne my

prisoner, who having once attempted to run away, I laid him in the bylboes, threatning to cut off his head, whom I remitted at Pemisapans request: whereupon hee being perswaded that hee was our enemie to the death, he did not onely feed him with himselfe, but also made him acquainted with all his practises. On the other side, the yong man finding himselfe as well used at my hande, as I had meanes to shew, and that all my company made much of him, he flatly discovered al unto me, which also afterwards was reveiled unto me by one of Pemisapans owne men, that night before he was slaine.

These mischiefes being all instantly upon me and my company to be put in execution, it stood mee in hand to study how to prevent them, and also to save all others, which were at that time as aforesaid so farre from me: whereupon I sent to Pemisapan to put suspition out of his head, that I meant presently to go to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the arrivall of our fleete, (though I in trueth had neither heard nor hoped for so good adventure,) and that I meant to come by him, to borrow of his men to fish for my company, & to hunt for me at Croatoan, as also to buy some foure dayes provision to serve for my voyage.

[III. 263.] He sent me word that he would himselfe come over to Roanoak, but from day to day he deferred, onely to bring the Weopomeioks with him & the Mandoags, whose time appointed was within eight dayes after. It was the last of May 1586 when all his owne Savages began to make their assembly at Roanoak, at his commandement sent abroad unto them, and I resolved not to stay longer upon his comming over, since he meant to come with so good company, but thought good to go and visit him with such as I had, which I resolved to do the next day: but that night I meant by the way to give them in the Island a canvisado, and at the instant to seize upon all the canoas about the Island, to keepe him from advertisements.

But the towne tooke the alarme before I meant it to

them: the occasion was this. I had sent the Master of the light horseman, with a few with him, to gather up all the canoas in the setting of the Sun, & to take as many as were going from us to Dasamonquepeio, but to suffer any that came from thence, to land. He met with a Canoa going from the shore, and overthrew the Canoa, and cut off two Savages heads: this was not done so secretly but he was discovered from the shore; wherupon the cry arose: for in trueth they, privy to their owne villanous purposes against us, held as good espiall upon us, both day and night, as we did upon them.

The slaughter and surprise of the Savages.

The allarme given, they tooke themselves to their bowes, and we to our armes: some three or foure of them at the first were slaine with our shot: the rest fled into the woods. The next morning with the light horsman & one Canoa taking 25 with the Colonel of the Chesepians, and the Sergeant major, I went to Dasamonquepeio: and being landed, sent Pemisapan word by one of his owne Savages that met me at the shore, that I was going to Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way to complaine unto him of Osocon, who the night past was conveying away my prisoner, whom I had there present tied in an handlocke. Heereupon the king did abide my comming to him, and finding my selfe amidst seven or eight of his principall Weroances and followers, (not regarding any of the common sort) I gave the watch-word agreed upon, (which was, Christ our victory) and immediatly those his chiefe men and himselfe had by the mercy of God for our deliverance, that which they had purposed for us. The king himselfe being shot thorow by the Colonell with a pistoll, lying on the ground for dead, & I looking as watchfully for the saving of Manteos friends, as others were busie that none of the rest should escape, suddenly he started up, and ran away as though he had not bene touched, insomuch as he overran all the company, being by the way shot thwart the buttocks by mine Irish boy with my petronell. In the end an

Irish man serving me, one Nugent, and the deputy provost, undertooke him; and following him in the woods, overtooke him: and I in some doubt least we had lost both the king & my man by our owne negligence to have beene intercepted by the Savages, wee met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapans head in his hand.

Pemisapan slaine.

This fell out the first of June 1586, and the eight of the same came advertisement to me from captaine Stafford, lying at my lord Admirals Island, that he had discovered a great fleet of three and twenty sailes: but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet discerne. He advised me to stand upon as good guard as I could.

The ninth of the sayd moneth he himselfe came unto me, having that night before, & that same day travelled by land twenty miles: and I must truely report of him from the first to the last; hee was the gentleman that never spared labour or perill either by land or water, faire weather or foule, to performe any service committed unto him.

A letter from Sir Francis Drake.

He brought me a letter from the Generall Sir Francis Drake, with a most bountifull and honourable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action wee were entred into; and that not only of victuals, munition, and clothing, but also of barks, pinnesses, and boats; they also by him to be victualled, manned, and furnished to my contentation.

The tenth day he arrived in the road of our bad harborow: and comming there to an anker, the eleventh day I came to him, whom I found in deeds most honourably to performe that which in writing and message he had most curteously offered, he having aforehand propounded the matter to all the captaines of his fleet, and got their liking and consent thereto.

With such thanks unto him and his captaines for his care both of us and of our action, not as the matter deserved, but as I could both for my company and my

selfe, I (being aforehand prepared what I would desire) craved at his hands that it would please him to take with him into England a number of weake and unfit men for my good action, which I would deliver to him; and in place of them to supply me of his company with oare-men, artificers, and others.

That he would leave us so much shipping and victuall, as about August then next following would cary me and all my company into England, when we had discovered somewhat, that for lacke of needfull provision in time left with us as yet remained undone.

That it woulde please him withall to leave some sufficient Masters not onely to cary us into England, when time should be, but also to search the coast for some better harborow, if there were any, and especially to helpe us to some small boats and oare-men. [III. 264.]

Also for a supply of calievers, hand weapons, match and lead, tooles, apparell, and such like.

He having received these my requests, according to his usuall commendable maner of government (as it was told me) calling his captaines to counsell; the resolution was that I should send such of my officers of my company as I used in such matters, with their notes, to goe aboord with him; which were the Master of the victuals, The Keeper of the store, and the Vicetreasurer: to whom he appointed forthwith for me The Francis, being a very proper barke of 70 tun, and tooke present order for bringing of victual aboord her for 100 men for foure moneths, with all my other demands whatsoever, to the uttermost.

And further, he appointed for me two pinnesses, and foure small boats: and that which was to performe all his former liberality towards us, was that he had gotten the full assents of two of as sufficient experimented Masters as were any in his fleet, by judgement of them that knew them, with very sufficient gings to tary with me, and to imploy themselves most earnestly in the action, as I should appoint them, untill the terme which

I promised of our returne into England againe. The names of one of those Masters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffith Herne.

While these things were in hand, the provision aforesayd being brought, and in bringing aboord, my sayd Masters being also gone aboord, my sayd barks having accepted of their charge, and mine owne officers, with others in like sort of my company with them (all which was dispatched by the sayd Generall the 12 of the sayde moneth) the 13 of the same there arose such an unwoonted storme, and continued foure dayes, that had like to have driven all on shore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand over them, and the Generall very providently foreseene the woorst himselfe, then about my dispatch putting himselfe aboord: but in the end having driven sundry of the fleet to put to Sea the Francis also with all my provisions, my two Masters, and my company aboord, she was seene to be free from the same, and to put cleere to Sea.

This storme having continued from the 13 to the 16 of the moneth, and thus my barke put away as aforesayd, the Generall comming ashore made a new proffer unto me; which was a ship of 170 tunne, called The Barke Bonner, with a sufficient Master and guide to tary with me the time appointed, and victualled sufficiently to cary me and my company into England, with all provisions as before: but he tolde me that he would not for any thing undertake to have her brought into our harbour, and therefore he was to leave her in the road, and to leave the care of the rest unto my selfe, and advised me to consider with my company of our case, and to deliver presently unto him in writing what I would require him to doe for us: which being within his power, he did assure me aswell for his Captaines as for himselfe, should be most willingly performed.

Heereupon calling such Captaines and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as privy as my selfe to the Generals offer: their whole re-

quest was to me, that considering the case that we stood in, the weaknesse of our company, the small number of the same, the carying away of our first appointed barke, with those two especiall Masters, with our principall provisions in the same, by the very hand of God as it seemed, stretched out to take us from thence; considering also, that his second offer, though most honourable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, insomuch as there was no possibility for her with any safety to be brought into the harbour: seeing furthermore, our hope for supply with Sir Richard Greenvill, so undoubtedly promised us before Easter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this yeere, considering the doings in England for Flanders, and also for America, that therefore I would resolve my selfe with my company to goe into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make request to the Generall in all our names, that he would be pleased to give us present passage with him. Which request of ours by my selfe delivered unto him, hee most readily assented unto: and so he sending immediatly his pinnesses unto our Island for the fetching away of a few that there were left with our baggage, the weather was so boisterous, & the pinnesses so often on ground, that the most of all we had, with all our Cards, Books and writings were by the Sailers cast overboord, the greater number of the fleet being much agrieved with their long and dangerous abode in that miserable road.

From whence the Generall in the name of the Almighty, weying his ankers (having bestowed us among his fleet) for the reliefe of whom hee had in that storme susteined more perill of wracke then in all his former most honourable actions against the Spanyards, with praises unto God for all, set saile the nineteenth of June 1586, and arrived in Portsmouth the seven and twentieth of July the same yeere.

[The third

[III. 265.] The third voyage made by a ship sent in the yeere 1586, to the reliefe of the Colony planted in Virginia, at the sole charges of Sir Walter Ralegh.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1586 Sir Walter Ralegh at his owne charge prepared a ship of an hundred tunne, fraighted with all maner of things in most plentifull maner, for the supply and reliefe of his Colony then remaining in Virginia: but before they set saile from England it was after Easter, so that our Colony halfe despaired of the comming of any supply: wherefore every man prepared for himselfe, determining resolutely to spend the residue of their life time in that countrey. And for the better performance of this their determination, they sowed, planted, and set such things as were necessary for their reliefe in so plentifull a maner as might have sufficed them two yeeres without any further labour. Thus trusting to their owne harvest, they passed the Summer till the tenth of June: at which time their corne which they had sowed was within one fortnight of reaping: but then it happened that Sir Francis Drake in his prosperous returne from the sacking of Sant Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Augustine, determined in his way homeward to visit his countreymen the English Colony then remaining in Virginia. So passing along the coasts of Florida, he fell with the parts where our English Colony inhabited: and having espied some of that company, there he ankered and went aland, where hee conferred with them of their state and welfare, and how things had past with them. They answered him that they lived all; but hitherto in some scarsity: and as yet could heare of no supply out of England: therefore they requested him that hee would leave with them some two or three ships, that if in some reasonable time they heard not out of

England, they might then returne themselves. Which hee agreed to. Whilest some were then writing their letters to send into England, and some others making reports of the accidents of their travels ech to other, some on land, some on boord, a great storme arose, and drove the most of their fleet from their ankers to Sea, in which ships at that instant were the chiefest of the English Colony: the rest on land perceiving this, hasted to those three sailes which were appointed to be left there; and for feare they should be left behinde they left all things confusedly, as if they had bene chased from thence by a mighty army: and no doubt so they were; for the hand of God came upon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the native inhabitants of that countrey.

This ship arrived in Virginia.

Immediatly after the departing of our English Colony out of this paradise of the world, the ship abovementioned sent and set forth at the charges of Sir Walter Ralegh and his direction, arrived at Hatorask; who after some time spent in seeking our Colony up in the countrey, and not finding them, returned with all the aforesayd provision into England.

Sir Richard Grinvils third voyage.

About foureteene or fifteene dayes after the departure of the aforesayd shippe, Sir Richard Grinvile Generall of Virginia, accompanied with three shippes well appointed for the same voyage, arrived there; who not finding the aforesayd shippe according to his expectation, nor hearing any newes of our English Colony there seated, and left by him anno 1585, himselfe travelling up into divers places of the countrey, aswell to see if he could heare any newes of the Colony left there by him the yeere before, under the charge of Master Lane his deputy, as also to discover some places of the countrey: but after some time spent therein, not hearing any newes of them, and finding the places which they inhabited desolate, yet unwilling to loose the possession of the countrey which Englishmen had so long held: after good deliberation, hee determined to leave some men behinde to reteine

Fifteene men more left in Virginia.

possession of the Countrey: whereupon he landed fifteene men in the Isle of Roanoak, furnished plentifully with all maner of provision for two yeeres, and so departed for England.

Not long after he fell with the Isles of Açores, on some of which Islands he landed, and spoiled the townes of all such things as were woorth cariage, where also he tooke divers Spanyards. With these and many other exploits done by him in this voyage, aswell outward as homeward, he returned into England.

[III. 266.]

A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia: of the commodities there found, and to be raised, aswell merchantable as others: Written by Thomas Heriot, servant to Sir Walter Ralegh, a member of the Colony, and there imployed in discovering a full twelvemoneth.

Rafe Lane one of her Majesties Esquiers, and Governour of the Colony in Virginia, above mentioned, for the time there resident, to the gentle Reader wisheth all happinesse in the Lord.

ALbeit (gentle Reader) the credit of the reports in this Treatise contained can little be furthered by the testimony of one as my selfe, through affection judged partiall, though without desert: nevertheless, forsomuch as I have bene requested by some my particular friends, who conceive more rightly of me, to deliver freely my knowledge of the same, not onely for the satisfying of them, but also for the true information of any other whosoever, that comes not with a prejudicate minde to the reading thereof: thus much upon my credit I am to affirme, that things universally are so truely set downe

in this Treatise by the authour thereof, an actor in the Colony, and a man no lesse for his honesty then learning commendable, as that I dare boldly avouch, it may very well passe with the credit of trueth even amongst the most true relations of this age. Which as for mine owne part I am ready any way with my word to acknowledge, so also (of the certaintie thereof assured by mine owne experience) with this my publique assertion I doe affirme the same. Farewell in the Lord.

To the Adventurers, Favourers, and Welwillers of the enterprise for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia.

Since the first undertaking by Sir Walter Ralegh to deale in the action of discovering of that countrey which is now called and knowen by the name of Virginia, many voyages having beene thither made at sundry times to his great charge; as first in the yere 1584, and afterwards in the yeres 1585, 1586, and now of late this last yeere 1587: there have bene divers and variable reports, with some slanderous and shamefull speeches bruted abroad by many that returned from thence: especially of that discovery which was made by the Colony transported by Sir Richard Grinvile in the yere 1585, being of all others the most principall, and as yet of most effect, the time of their abode in the countrey being a whole yere, when as in the other voyage before they stayed but sixe weeks, and the others after were onely for supply and transportation, nothing more being discovered then had bene before. Which reports have not done a little wrong to many that otherwise would have also favoured and adventured in the action, to the honour and benefit of our nation, besides the particular profit and credit which would redound to themselves the dealers therein, as I hope by the sequel of

events, to the shame of those that have avouched the contrary, shall be manifest, if you the adventurers, favourers and welwillers doe but either increase in number, or in opinion continue, or having beene doubtfull, renew your good liking and furtherance to deale therein according to the woorthinesse thereof already found, and as you shall understand hereafter to be requisit. Touching which woorthinesse through cause of the diversity of relations and reports, many of your opinions could not be firme, nor the minds of some that are well disposed be setled in any certaintie.

I have therefore thought it good, being one that have beene in the discoverie, and in dealing with the naturall inhabitants specially imployed: and having therefore seene and knowen more then the ordinary, to impart so much unto you of the fruits of our labours, as that you may know how injuriously the enterprise is slandered, and that in publique maner at this present, chiefly for two respects.

First, that some of you which are yet ignorant or doubtfull of the state thereof, may see that there is sufficient cause why the chiefe enterpriser with the favour of her Majesty, notwithstanding such reports, hath not onely since continued the action by sending into the countrey againe, and replanting this last yeere a new Colony, but is also ready, according as the times and meanes will affoord, to follow and prosecute the same.

Secondly, that you seeing and knowing the continuance [III. 267.] of the action, by the view hereof you may generally know and learne what the countrey is, and thereupon consider how your dealing therein, if it proceed, may returne you profit and gaine, be it either by inhabiting and planting, or otherwise in furthering thereof.

And least that the substance of my relation should be doubtfull unto you, as of others by reason of their diversitie, I will first open the cause in a few words, wherefore they are so different, referring my selfe to

your favourable constructions, and to be adjudged of, as by good consideration you shall finde cause.

Of our company that returned, some for their misdemeanour and ill dealing in the countrey have bene there worthily punished, who by reason of their bad natures, have maliciously not onely spoken ill of their Governours, but for their sakes slandered the countrey it selfe. The like also have those done which were of their consort.

Some being ignorant of the state thereof, notwithstanding since their returne amongst their friends & acquaintance, and also others, especially if they were in company where they might not be gainsayd, would seeme to know so much as no men more, and make no men so great travellers as themselves. They stood so much, as it may seeme, upon their credit and reputation, that having bene a twelvemoneth in the countrey, it would have bene a great disgrace unto them, as they thought, if they could not have sayd much, whether it were true or false. Of which some have spoken of more then ever they saw, or otherwise knew to be there. Other some have not bene ashamed to make absolute deniall of that, which although not by them, yet by others is most certainly and there plentifully knowen, & other some make difficulties of those things they have no skill of.

The cause of their ignorance was, in that they were of that many that were never out of the Island where we were seated, or not farre, or at the least wise in few places els, during the time of our abode in the country: or of that many, that after gold & silver was not so soone found, as it was by them looked for, had litle or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies: or of that many which had litle understanding, lesse discretion, and more tongue then was needfull or requisite.

Some also were of a nice bringing up, only in cities or townes, or such as never (as I may say) had seene

the world before. Because there were not to be found any English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wish any of their old accustomed dainty food, nor any soft beds of downe or feathers, the countrey was to them miserable, and their reports thereof according.

Because my purpose was but in briefe to open the cause of the variety of such speeches, the particularities of them, and of many envious, malicious, and slanderous reports and devices els, by our owne countreymen besides, as trifles that are not worthy of wise men to be thought upon, I meane not to trouble you withall, but will passe to the commodities, the substance of that which I have to make relation of unto you.

The Treatise whereof, for your more ready view and easier understanding, I will divide into three speciall parts. In the first I will make declaration of such commodities there already found or to be raised, which will not onely serve the ordinary turnes of you which are and shall be the planters and inhabitants, but such an overplus sufficiently to be yeelded, or by men of skill to be provided, as by way of traffique and exchange with our owne nation of England, will inrich your selves the providers: those that shall deale with you, the enterprisers in generall, and greatly profit our owne countreymen, to supply them with most things which heretofore they have bene faine to provide either of strangers or of our enemies, which commodities, for distinction sake, I call Merchantable.

In the second I will set downe all the commodities which we know the countrey by our experience doth yeeld of it selfe for victuall and sustenance of mans life, such as are usually fed upon by the inhabitants of the countrey, as also by us during the time we were there.

In the last part I will make mention generally of such other commodities besides, as I am able to remember, and as I shall thinke behoovefull for those that shall

inhabit, and plant there, to know of, which specially concerne building, as also some other necessary uses: with a briefe description of the nature and maners of the people of the countrey.

The first part of Merchantable commodities.

Ilke of grasse, or Grasse silke. There is a kind of grasse in the country, upon the blades whereof there groweth very good silke in forme of a thin glittering skin to be stript off. It groweth two foot & an halfe high or better: the blades are about two foot in length, and halfe an inch broad. The like groweth in Persia, which is in the selfe same climate as Virginia, of which very many of the Silke works that come from thence into Europe are made. Hereof if it be planted and ordered [III. 268.] as in Persia, it cannot in reason be otherwise, but that there will rise in short time great profit to the dealers therein, seeing there is so great use and vent thereof aswel in our countrey as elsewhere. And by the meanes of sowing and planting it in good ground, it will be farre greater, better, and more plentifull then it is. Although notwithstanding there is great store thereof in many places of the countrey growing naturally and wild, which also by proofe here in England, in making a piece of Silke grogran, we found to be excellent good.

Worme silke. In many of our journeys we found Silke-wormes faire and great, as bigge as our ordinary Walnuts. Although it hath not bene our hap to have found such plenty, as elswhere to be in the countrey we have heard of, yet seeing that the countrey doth naturally breed and nourish them, there is no doubt but if arte be added in planting of Mulberie trees, and others, fit for them in commodious places, for their feeding & nourishing, and some of them carefully gathered & husbanded in that sort, as by men of skil

is knowen to be necessary: there wil rise as great profit in time to the Virginians, as thereof doth now to the Persians, Turks, Italians and Spanyards.

Flaxe and Hempe. The trueth is, that of Hempe and Flaxe there is no great store in any one place together, by reason it is not planted but as the soile doth yeeld of it selfe: and howsoever the leafe and stemme or stalke do differ from ours, the stuffe by judgement of men of skill is altogether as good as ours: and if not, as further proofe should finde otherwise, we have that experience of the soile, as that there cannot be shewed any reason to the contrary, but that it will grow there excellent well, and by planting will be yeelded plentifully, seeing there is so much ground whereof some may well be applied to such purposes. What benefit heereof may grow in cordage and linnens who cannot easily understand?

Allum. There is a veine of earth along the sea coast for the space of forty or fifty miles, whereof by the judgement of some that have made triall here in England, is made good Allum, of that kind which is called Roch allum. The richnesse of such a commodity is so well knowen, that I need not to say any thing thereof. The same earth doth also yeeld White coprasse, Nitrum, and Alumen plumeum, but nothing so plentifully as the common Allum, which be also of price, and profitable.

Wapeih. A kind of earth so called by the naturall inhabitants, very like to Terra sigillata, and having bene refined, it hath bene found by some of our Physicians and Chyrurgians, to be of the same kind of vertue, and more effectuall. The inhabitants use it very much for the cure of sores and wounds: there is in divers places great plenty, and in some places of a blew sort.

Pitch, Tarre, Rozen and Turpentine. There are those kinds of trees which yeeld them abundantly and great store. In the very same Island where we were seated, being fifteene miles of length, and five or sixe

miles in breadth, there are few trees els but of the same kinde, the whole Island being full.

Sassafras, called by the inhabitants Winauk, a kind of wood of most pleasant and sweet smell, and of most rare vertues in physicke for the cure of many diseases. It is found by experience to be far better and of more uses then the wood which is called Guaiacum, or Lignum vitæ. For the description, the maner of using, and the manifold vertues therof, I refer you to the booke of Monardes, translated and entituled in English, The joyfull newes from the West Indies.

Cedar. A very sweet wood, and fine timber, whereof if nests of chests be there made, or timber thereof fitted for sweet and fine bedsteds, tables, desks, lutes, virginals, and many things els, (of which there hath bene proofe made already) to make up fraight with other principall commodities, will yeeld profit.

Wine. There are two kindes of grapes that the soile doth yeeld naturally, the one is small and sowre, of the ordinary bignesse as ours in England, the other farre greater and of himselfe lushious sweet. When they are planted and husbanded as they ought, a principall commodity of wines by them may be raised.

Oile. There are two sorts of Walnuts, both holding oile; but the one farre more plentifull then the other. When there are mils and other devices for the purpose, a commodity of them may be raised, because there are infinite store. There are also three severall kindes of berries in the forme of Oke-akornes, which also by the experience and use of the inhabitants, we find to yeeld very good and sweet oile. Furthermore, the beares of the countrey are commonly very fat, and in some places there are many. Their fatnesse, because it is so liquid, may well be termed oile, and hath many speciall uses.

Furres. All along the Sea coast there are great store of Otters, which being taken by weares and other engines made for the purpose, wil yeeld good profit. We hope

also of Marterne furres, and make no doubt by the relation of the people, but that in some places of the [III. 269.] countrey there are store, although there were but two skinnes that came to our hands. Luzernes also we have understanding of, although for the time we saw none.

Deers skinnes dressed after the maner of Chamoes, or undressed, are to be had of the naturall inhabitants thousands yerely by way of traffike for trifles, and no more waste or spoile of Deere then is and hath bene ordinarily in time before.

Civet-cats. In our travels there was found one to have bin killed by a Savage or inhabitant, & in another place the smel where one or more had lately bene before, whereby we gather, besides then by the relation of the people, that there are some in the country: good profit will rise by them.

Iron. In two places of the countrey specially, one about fourescore, & the other six score miles from the fort or place where we dwelt, we found nere the water side the ground to be rocky, which by the triall of a Minerall man was found to holde iron richly. It is found in many places of the country els: I know nothing to the contrary, but that it may be allowed for a good merchantable commodity, considering there the small charge for the labour & feeding of men, the infinite store of wood, the want of wood & deerenesse thereof in England, and the necessity of ballasting of ships.

Copper. An hundred and fifty miles into the maine in two townes we found with the inhabitants divers small plates of Copper, that had bene made as we understood by the inhabitants that dwell further into the country, where as they say are mountaines and rivers that yeeld also white graines of mettall, which is to be deemed Silver. For confirmation whereof, at the time of our first arrivall in the countrey, I saw, with some others with me, two small pieces of Silver grosly beaten, about the weight of a testron, hanging in the eares of a

Wiroans or chiefe lord that dwelt about fourescore miles from us: of whom through inquiry, by the number of dayes and the way, I learned that it had come to his hands from the same place or neere, where I after understood the Copper was made, and the white graines of metall found. The aforesayd Copper we also found by triall to holde Silver.

Pearle. Sometimes in feeding on Muscles we found some Pearle: but it was our happe to meet with ragges, or of a pide colour: not having yet discovered those places where we heard of better and more plenty. One of our company, a man of skill in such matters, had gathered together from among the Savage people about five thousand: of which number he chose so many as made a faire chaine, which for their likenesse and uniformity in roundnesse, orientnesse, and pidenesse of many excellent colours, with equality in greatnesse, were very faire and rare: and had therefore beene presented to her Majesty, had we not by casualty, and through extremity of a storme lost them, with many things els in comming away from the countrey.

Five thousand pearles gathered.

Sweet gummes of divers kinds, and many other Apothecary drugges, of which we will make speciall mention, when we shall receive it from such men of skill in that kinde, that in taking reasonable paines shal discover them more particularly then we have done, and then now I can make relation of, for want of the examples I had provided and gathered, and are now lost, with other things by casualty before mentioned.

Dies of divers kinds: There is Shoemake well knowen, and used in England for blacke: the seed of an herbe called Wasebur, little small roots called Chappacor, and the barke of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockonomindge: which dies are for divers sorts of red: their goodnesse for our English clothes remaine yet to be prooved. The inhabitants use them only for the dying of haire, and colouring of their faces, and mantles made of Deere skinnes: and also for the dying

of rushes to make artificiall works withall in their mats and baskets: having no other thing besides that they account of, apt to use them for. If they will not proove merchantable, there is no doubt but the planters there shall finde apt uses for them, as also for other colours which we know to be there.

Woad: a thing of so great vent and uses amongst English Diers, which can not be yeelded sufficiently in our owne countrey for spare of ground, may be planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The growth thereof need not to be doubted, when as in the Islands of the Açores it groweth plentifully, which are in the same climate. So likewise of Madder.

We caried thither Suger-canes to plant, which being not so well preserved as was requisite, and besides the time of the yeere being past for their setting when we arrived, we could not make that proofe of them as we desired. Notwithstanding, seeing that they grow in the same climate, in the South part of Spaine, and in Barbary, our hope in reason may yet continue. So likewise for Orenges and Limmons. There may be planted also Quinses. Whereby may grow in reasonable time, if the action be diligently prosecuted, no small commodities in Sugars, Suckets, and Marmelades.

Many other commodities by planting may there also
[III. 270.] be raised, which I leave to your discreet and gentle considerations: and many also may be there, which yet we have not discovered. Two more commodities of great value, one of certeinty, and the other in hope, not to be planted, but there to be raised and in short time to be provided, and prepared, I might have specified. So likewise of those commodities already set downe I might have sayd more: as of the particular places where they are found, and best to be planted and prepared: by what meanes, and in what reasonable space of time they might be raised to profit, and in what proportion: but because others then welwillers might be there withall acquainted, not to the good of the action, I have wittingly omitted

them: knowing that to those that are well disposed, I have uttered, according to my promise and purpose, for this part sufficient.

The second part of such commodities as Virginia is knowen to yeeld for victuall and sustenance of mans life, usually fed upon by the naturall inhabitants; as also by us, during the time of our abode: and first of such as are sowed and husbanded.

Agatowr, a kinde of graine so called by the inhabitants: the same in the West Indies is called Mayz: English men call it Guiny-wheat or Turkey-wheat, according to the names of the countreys from whence the like hath beene brought. The graine is about the bignesse of our ordinary English peaze, and not much different in forme and shape: but of divers colours: some white, some red, some yellow, and some blew. All of them yeeld a very white and sweet flowre: being used according to his kinde, it maketh a very good bread. We made of the same in the countrey some Mault, whereof was brewed as good Ale as was to be desired. So likewise by the helpe of Hops, therof may be made as good Beere. It is a graine of marvellous great increase: of a thousand, fifteene hundred, and some two thousand folde. There are three sorts, of which two are ripe in eleven & twelve weeks at the most, sometimes in tenne, after the time they are set, and are then of height in stalke about sixe or seven foot. The other sort is ripe in foureteene, and is about tenne foot high, of the stalks some beare foure heads, some three, some one, and some two: every head conteining five, sixe, or seven hundred graines, within a few more or lesse. Of these graines, besides bread, the inhabitants make victuall, either by parching them, or seething them whole untill they

be broken: or boiling the flowre with water into a pap.

Okindgier, called by us Beanes, because in greatnesse and partly in shape they are like to the beanes in England, saving that they are flatter, of more divers colours, and some pide. The leafe also of the stemme is much different. In taste they are altogether as good as our English peaze.

Wickonzowr, called by us Peaze, in respect of the Beanes, for distinction sake, because they are much lesse, although in forme they litle differ: but in goodnesse of taste much like, and are far better then our English Peaze. Both the beanes and peaze are ripe in ten weeks after they are set. They make them victuall either by boiling them all to pieces into a broth, or boiling them whole untill they be soft, and beginne to breake, as is used in England, either by themselves, or mixtly together: sometime they mingle of the Wheat with them: sometime also, being whole sodden, they bruse or punne them in a morter, and therof make loaves or lumps of doughish bread, which they use to eat for variety.

Macocquer, according to their several formes, called by us Pompions, Melons, and Gourds, because they are of the like formes as those kinds in England. In Virginia such of severall formes are of one taste, and very good, and do also spring from one seed. There are of two sorts: one is ripe in the space of a moneth, and the other in two moneths.

There is an herbe which in Dutch is called Melden. Some of those that I describe it unto take it to be a kinde of Orage: it groweth about foure or five foot high: of the seed thereof they make a thicke broth, and pottage of a very good taste: of the stalke by burning into ashes they make a kinde of salt earth, wherewithall many use sometimes to season their broths: other salt they know not. We our selves used the leaves also for pot-herbs.

There is also another great herbe, in forme of a Marigolde, about sixe foot in height, the head with the floure is a spanne in breadth. Some take it to be Planta Solis: of the seeds hereof they make both a kinde of bread and broth.

All the aforesayd commodities for victuall are set or sowed, sometimes in grounds apart and severally by themselves, but for the most part together in one ground mixtly: the maner thereof, with the dressing and preparing of the ground, because I will note unto you the fertility of the soile, I thinke good briefly to describe.

The ground they never fatten with mucke, dung, or any other thing, neither plow nor digge it as we in England, but onely prepare it in sort as followeth. A few dayes before they sowe or set, the men with woodden instruments made almost in forme of mattocks or hoes with long handles: the women with short peckers or parers, because they use them sitting, of a foot long, and about five inches in breadth, doe onely breake the upper part of the ground to raise up the weeds, grasse, and olde stubbes of corne stalks with their roots. The which after a day or two dayes drying in the Sunne, being scrapt up into many small heaps, to save them labour for carying them away, they burne into ashes. And whereas some may thinke that they use the ashes for to better the ground, I say that then they would either disperse the ashes abroad, which wee observed they do not, except the heaps be too great, or els would take speciall care to set their corne where the ashes lie, which also wee finde they are carelesse of. And this is all the husbanding of their ground that they use. [III. 271.]

Then their setting or sowing is after this maner. First for their corne, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put foure graines, with care that they touch not one another (about an inch asunder) & cover them with the molde

againe: and so thorowout the whole plot making such holes, and using them after such maner, but with this regard, that they be made in ranks, every ranke differing from other halfe a fadome or a yard, and the holes also in every ranke as much. By this meanes there is a yard spare ground betweene every hole: where according to discretion here and there, they set as many Beanes and Peaze; in divers places also among the seeds of Macocquer, Melden, and Planta solis.

The ground being thus set according to the rate by us experimented, an English acre conteining forty pearches in length, and foure in breadth, doth there yeeld in croppe or ofcome of corne, Beanes and Peaze, at the least two hundred London bushels, besides the Macocquer, Melden, and Planta solis; when as in England forty bushels of our Wheat yeelded out of such an acre is thought to be much.

I thought also good to note this unto you, that you which shall inhabit, and plant there, may know how specially that countrey corne is there to be preferred before ours: besides, the manifold wayes in applying it to victual, the increase is so much, that small labor & paines is needful in respect of that which must be used for ours. For this I can assure you that according to the rate we have made proofe of, one man may prepare and husband so much ground (having once borne corne before) with lesse then foure and twenty houres labour, as shall yeeld him victual in a large proportion for a twelvemoneth, if he have nothing els but that which the same ground will yeeld, and of that kinde onely which I have before spoken of: the sayd ground being also but of five and twenty yards square. And if need require, but that there is ground enough, there might be raised out of one and the selfesame ground two harvests or ofcomes: for they sow or set, and may at any time when they thinke good, from the midst of March untill the end of June: so that they also set when they have eaten of their first croppe. In some

places of the countrey notwithstanding they have two harvests, as we have heard, out of one and the same ground.

For English corne neverthelesse, whether to use or not to use it, you that inhabit may doe as you shall have further cause to thinke best. Of the growth you need not to doubt: for Barley, Oats, and Peaze, we have seene proofe of, not being purposely sowen, but fallen casually in the woorst sort of ground, and yet to be as faire as any we have ever seene heere in England. But of Wheat, because it was musty, and had taken salt water, we could make no triall: and of Rie we had none. Thus much have I digressed, and I hope not unnecessarily: now will I returne againe to my course, and intreat of that which yet remaineth, apperteining to this chapter.

There is an herbe which is sowed apart by it selfe, and is called by the inhabitants Uppowoc: in the West Indies it hath divers names, according to the severall places and countreys where it groweth and is used: the Spanyards generally call it Tabacco. The leaves thereof *Tabacco.* being dried and brought into pouder, they use to take the fume or smoake thereof, by sucking it thorow pipes made of clay, into their stomacke and head; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame and other grosse humours, and openeth all the pores and passages of the body: by which meanes the use thereof not onely preserveth the body from obstructions, but also (if any be, so that they have not bene of too long continuance) in short time breaketh them: whereby their bodies are notably preserved in health, and know not many grievous diseases, wherewithall we in England are often times afflicted.

This Uppowoc is of so precious estimation amongst them, that they thinke their gods are marvellously delighted therewith: whereupon sometime they make hallowed fires, and cast some of the pouder therin for a sacrifice: being in a storme upon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they cast some up into the aire and into the [III. 272.]

water: so a weare for fish being newly set up, they cast some therein and into the aire: also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the aire likewise: but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometime dancing, clapping of hands, holding up of hands, and staring up into the heavens, uttering therewithall, and chattering strange words and noises.

We our selves, during the time we were there, used to sucke it after their maner, as also since our returne, and have found many rare and woonderfull experiments of the vertues thereof: of which the relation would require a volume by it selfe: the use of it by so many of late men and women of great calling, as els, and some learned Physicians also, is sufficient witnesse.

And these are all the commodities for sustenance of life, that I know and can remember, they use to husband: all els that follow, are found growing naturally or wilde.

Of Roots.

OPenauk are a kinde of roots of round forme, some of the bignesse of Walnuts, some farre greater, which are found in moist and marish grounds growing many together one by another in ropes, as though they were fastened with a string. Being boiled or sodden, they are very good meat. Monardes calleth these roots, Beads or Pater nostri of Santa Helena.

Monardes parte 2. lib. 1. cap. 4.

Okeepenauk are also of round shape, found in dry grounds: some are of the bignesse of a mans head. They are to be eaten as they are taken out of the ground: for by reason of their drinesse they will neither rost nor seethe. Their taste is not so good as of the former roots: notwithstanding for want of bread, and sometimes for variety the inhabitants use to eat them with fish or flesh, and in my judgement they do as well as the housholde bread made of Rie here in England.

Kaishucpenauk, a white kinde of roots about the bignesse of hennes egges, and neere of that forme: their taste was not so good to our seeming as of the other, and

therefore their place and maner of growing not so much cared for by us: the inhabitants notwithstanding used to boile and eat many.

Tsinaw, a kind of root much like unto that which in England is called the China root brought from the East Indies. And we know not any thing to the contrary but that it may be of the same kinde. These roots grow many together in great clusters, and do bring foorth a brier stalke, but the leafe in shape farre unlike: which being supported by the trees it groweth neerest unto, will reach or climbe to the top of the highest. From these roots while they be new or fresh, being chopt into small pieces, and stampt, is strained with water a juice that maketh bread, and also being boiled, a very good spoonmeat in maner of a gelly, and is much better in taste, if it be tempered with oile. This Tsinaw is not of that sort, which by some was caused to be brought into England for the China root; for it was discovered since, and is in use as is aforesayd: but that which was brought hither is not yet knowen, neither by us nor by the inhabitants to serve for any use or purpose, although the roots in shape are very like.

Coscushaw some of our company tooke to be that kinde of root which the Spanyards in the West Indies call Cassavy, whereupon also many called it by that name: it groweth in very muddy pooles, and moist grounds. Being dressed according to the countrey maner, it maketh a good bread, and also a good spoonmeat, and is used very much by the inhabitants. The juice of this root is poison, & therefore heed must be taken before any thing be made therewithall: either the roots must be first sliced and dried in the Sunne, or by the fire, and then being punned into floure, will make good bread: or els while they are greene they are to be pared, cut in pieces, and stampt: loaves of the same to be layd nere or over the fire untill it be sowre; and then being well punned againe, bread or spoonmeat very good in taste and holesome may be made thereof.

The juice of Coscushaw is poison.

Habascon is a root of hote taste, almost of the forme and bignesse of a Parsnip: of it selfe it is no victuall, but onely a helpe, being boiled together with other meats.

There are also Leeks, differing little from ours in England, that grow in many places of the countrey; of which, when we came in places where they were, we gathered and eat many, but the naturall inhabitants never.

Of Fruits.

CHestnuts there are in divers places great store: some they use to eat raw, some they stampe and boile to make spoonmeat, and with some being sodden, they make such a maner of dough bread as they use of their beanes before mentioned.

[III. 273.] Walnuts. There are two kinds of Walnuts, and of them infinite store: in many places, where are very great woods for many miles together, the third part of trees are Walnut trees. The one kinde is of the same taste and forme, or little differing from ours of England, but that they are harder and thicker shelled: the other is greater, and hath a very ragged and hard shell: but the kernel great, very oily and sweet. Besides their eating of them after our ordinary maner, they breake them with stones, and punne them in morters with water, to make a milke which they use to put into some sorts of their spoonemeat: also among their sodde wheat, peaze, beanes and pompions, which maketh them have a farre more pleasant taste.

Medlars, a kinde of very good fruit: so called by us chiefly for these respects: first in that they are not good untill they be rotten, then in that they open at the head as our Medlars, and are about the same bignesse: otherwise in taste and colour they are farre different; for they are as red as cheries, and very sweet: but whereas the chery is sharpe sweet, they are lushious sweet.

Mutaquesunnauk, a kinde of pleasant fruit almost of the shape and bignesse of English peares, but that they are

of a perfect red colour aswell within as without. They grow on a plant whose leaves are very thicke, and full of prickles as sharpe as needles. Some that have beene in the Indies, where they have seene that kind of red die of great price, which is called Cochinile, to grow, doe describe his plant right like unto this of Metaquesunnauk; but whether it be the true Cochinile, or a bastard or wilde kinde, it cannot yet be certified, seeing that also, as I heard, Cochinile is not of the fruit, but found on the leaves of the plant: which leaves for such matter we have not so specially observed.

There are iii. kinds of Tunas whereof that which beareth no fruit bringeth foorth the Cochinillo.

Grapes there are of two sorts, which I mentioned in the merchantable commodities.

Strawberies there are as good and as great as those which we have in our English gardens.

Mulberies, Applecrabs, Hurts or Hurtleberies, such as we have in England.

Sacquenummener, a kinde of berries almost like unto Capers, but somewhat greater, which grow together in clusters upon a plant or hearbe that is found in shallow waters: being boiled eight or nine houres according to their kinde, are very good meat and holesome; otherwise if they be eaten they will make a man for the time frantike or extremely sicke.

There is a kinde of Reed which beareth a seed almost like unto our Rie or Wheat; and being boiled is good meat.

In our travels in some places we found Wilde peaze like unto ours in England, but that they were lesse, which are also good meat.

Of a kinde of fruit or berry in forme of Acornes.

THere is a kinde of berry or acorne, of which there are five sorts that grow on severall kindes of trees: the one is called Sagatemener, the second Osamener, the third Pummuckoner. These kinde of acornes they use to drie upon hurdles made of reeds, with fire underneath, almost after the maner as we dry Malt in England. When they

are to be used, they first water them untill they be soft, and then being sod, they make a good victuall, either to eat so simply, or els being also punned to makes loaves or lumps of bread. These be also the three kinds, of which I sayd before the inhabitants used to make sweet oile.

Another sort is called Sapummener, which being boiled or parched, doth eat and taste like unto Chesnuts. They sometime also make bread of this sort.

The fift sort is called Mangummenauk, and is the acorne of their kinde of Oake, the which being dried after the maner of the first sorts, and afterward watered, they boile them, and their servants, or sometime the chiefe themselves, either for variety or for want of bread, do eat them with their fish or flesh.

Of Beasts.

DEere, in some places there are great store: neere unto the Sea coast they are of the ordinary bignesse of ours in England, and some lesse: but further up into the countrey, where there is better food, they are greater: they differ from ours onely in this, their tailes are longer, and the snags of their hornes looke backward.

Conies. Those that we have seene, and all that we can heare of are of a gray colour like unto Hares: in some places there are such plenty that all the people of some townes make them mantles of the furre or flue of the skinnes of those which they usually take.

Saquenuckot and Maquowoc, two kinds of small beasts greater then Conies, which are very good meat. We never tooke any of them our selves but sometime eat of such as the inhabitants had taken and brought unto us.

[III. 274.] Squirels, which are of a grey colour, we have taken and eaten.

Beares, which are of blacke colour. The beares of this countrey are good meat. The inhabitants in time of Winter do use to take & eat many: so also sometime did we. They are taken commonly in this sort: In

some Islands or places where they are, being hunted for, assoone as they have spiall of a man, they presently run away, and then being chased, they clime and get up the next tree they can: from whence with arrowes they are shot downe starke dead, or with those wounds that they may after easily be killed. We sometime shot them downe with our calievers.

I have the names of eight and twenty severall sorts of beasts, which I have heard of to be here and there dispersed in the countrey, especially in the maine: of which there are only twelve kinds that we have yet discovered; and of those that be good meat we know only them before mentioned. The inhabitants sometime kill the Lion, and eat him: and we sometime as they came to our hands of their Woolves or Woolvish dogs, which I have not set downe for good meat, least that some would understand my judgement therein to be more simple then needeth, although I could alleage the difference in taste of those kinds from ours, which by some of our company have bene experimented in both.

Of Fowle.

TUrkie cocks and Turkie hennes, Stockdoves, Partridges, Cranes, Hernes, and in Winter great store of Swannes and Geese. Of all sorts of fowle I have the names in the countrey language of fourescore and sixe, of which number, besides those that be named, we have taken, eaten, & have the pictures as they were there drawen, with the names of the inhabitants, of severall strange sorts of water fowle eight, and seventeene kinds more of land fowle, although we have seene and eaten of many more, which for want of leasure there for the purpose, could not be pictured: and after we are better furnished and stored upon further discovery with their strange beasts, fish, trees, plants, and herbs, they shalbe also published.

There are also Parrots, Faulcons, and Marlin hauks,

which although with us they be not used for meat, yet for other causes I thought good to mention.

Of Fish.

FOr foure moneths of the yeere, February, March, Aprill and May, there are plenty of Sturgeons. And also in the same moneths of Herrings, some of the ordinary bignesse of ours in England, but the most part farre greater, of eighteene, twenty inches, and some two foot in length and better: both these kinds of fish in those moneths are most plentifull, and in best season, which we found to be most delicate and pleasant meat.

There are also Trouts, Porpoises, Rayes, Oldwives, Mullets, Plaice, and very many other sorts of excellent good fish, which we have taken and eaten, whose names I know not but in the countrey language: we have the pictures of twelve sorts more, as they were drawen in the countrey, with their names.

In the gulfe of Californiа they use the like fishing.

The inhabitants use to take them two maner of wayes; the one is by a kinde of weare made of reeds, which in that country are very strong: the other way, which is more strange, is with poles made sharpe at one end, by shooting them into the fish after the maner as Irish men cast darts, either as they are rowing in their boats, or els as they are wading in the shallowes for the purpose.

There are also in many places plenty of these kinds which follow:

Sea-crabs, such as we have in England.

Oisters, some very great, and some small, some round, and some of a long shape: they are found both in salt water and brackish, and those that we had out of salt water are farre better then the other, as in our countrey.

Also Muscles, Scalops, Periwinkles, and Crevises.

Seekanauk, a kinde of crusty shel-fish, which is good meat, about a foot in bredth, having a crusty taile many legges like a crab, and her eyes in her backe. They

are found in shallowes of waters, and sometime on the shore.

There are many Tortoises both of land and sea kinde, their backs and bellies are shelled very thicke ; their head, feet, and taile, which are in appearance, seeme ougly, as though they were members of a serpent or venimous beasts ; but notwithstanding they are very good meat, as also their eggs. Some have bene found of a yard in bredth and better.

And thus have I made relation of all sorts of victuall that we fed upon for the time we were in Virginia, as also the inhabitants themselves, as farre forth as I know and can remember, or that are specially woorthy to be remembred.

The third and last part of such other things as are behovefull for those which shall plant and inhabite to know of, with a description of the nature and maners of the people of the Countrey. [III. 275.]

Of commodities for building and other necessary uses.

THose other things which I am more to make rehearsal of, are such as concerne building, & other mechanicall necessary uses, as divers sorts of trees for house and ship-timber, and other uses else : Also lime, stone, and bricke, least that being not mentioned some might have bene doubted of, or by some that are malitious the contrary reported.

Okes there are as faire, straight, tall, and as good timber as any can be, and also great store, and in some places very great.

Walnut trees, as I have said before very many, some have bene seene excellent faire timber of foure and five

fadome, and above fourescore foote streight without bough.

Firre trees fit for masts of ships, some very tall and great.

Rakiock, a kinde of trees so called that are sweete wood, of which the inhabitants that were neere unto us doe commonly make their boates or Canoas of the forme of trowes, onely with the helpe of fire, hatchets of stones, and shels: we have knowen some so great being made in that sort of one tree, that they have caried well 20. men at once, besides much baggage: the timber being great, tall, streight, soft, light, and yet tough ynough I thinke (besides other uses) to be fit also for masts of ships.

Cedar, a sweete wood good for seelings, chests, boxes, bedsteads, lutes, virginals, and many things els, as I have also said before. Some of our company which have wandered in some places where I have not bene, have made certaine affirmation of Cyprus, which for such and other excellent uses is also a wood of price and no small estimation.

Maple, and also Wich-hazle, whereof the inhabitants use to make their bowes.

Holly, a necessary thing for the making of birdlime.

Willowes good for the making of weares and weeles to take fish after the English maner, although the inhabitants use onely reedes, which because they are so strong as also flexible, doe serve for that turne very well and sufficiently.

Beech and Ashe, good for caske-hoopes, and if neede require, plowe worke, as also for many things els.

Elme.} {Sassafras trees.

Ascopo a kinde of tree very like unto Lawrell, the barke is hot in taste and spicie, it is very like to that tree which Monardes describeth to be Cassia Lignea of the West Indies.

There are many other strange trees whose names I know not but in the Virginian language, of which I am

not now able, neither is it so convenient for the present to trouble you with particular relation: seeing that for timber and other necessary uses, I have named sufficient. And of many of the rest, but that they may be applied to good use, I know no cause to doubt.

Now for stone, bricke, and lime, thus it is. Neere unto the Sea coast where wee dwelt, there are no kinde of stones to be found (except a few small pebbles about foure miles off) but such as have bene brought from further out of the maine. In some of our voyages we have seene divers hard raggie stones, great pebbles, and a kinde of gray stone like unto marble of which the inhabitants make their hatchets to cleave wood. Upon inquirie wee heard that a little further up into the Countrey were of all sorts very many, although of quarries they are ignorant, neither have they use of any store whereupon they should have occasion to seeke any. For if every housholde have one or two to cracke nuts, grinde shels, whet copper, and sometimes other stones for hatchets, they have ynough: neither use they any digging, but onely for graves about three foote deepe: and therefore no marveile that they know neither quarries, nor lime-stones, which both may be in places neerer then they wot of.

In the meane time until there be discovery of sufficient store in some place or other convenient, the want of you which are & shalbe the planters therein may be as well supplied by bricke: for the making whereof in divers places of the Countrey there is clay both excellent good, and plentie, and also by lime made of oyster shels, and of others burnt, after the maner as they use in the Isles of Tenet and Shepy, and also in divers other places of England: Which kinde of lime is well knowen to be as good as any other. And of oyster shels there is plentie ynough: for besides divers other particular places where [III. 276.] are abundance, there is one shallow Sound along the coast, where for the space of many miles together in length, and two or three miles in breadth, the ground is

nothing els, being but halfe a foote or a foote under water for the most part.

Thus much can I say furthermore of stones, that about 120. miles from our fort neere the water in the side of a hill, was found by a Gentleman of our company, a great veine of hard ragge stones, which I thought good to remember unto you.

Of the nature and maners of the people.

IT resteth I speake a word or two of the naturall inhabitants, their natures and maners, leaving large discourse thereof until time more convenient hereafter: nowe onely so farre foorth, as that you may know, how that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared, but that they shall have cause both to feare and love us, that shall inhabite with them.

They are a people clothed with loose mantles made of deere skinnes, and aprons of the same round about their middles, all els naked, of such a difference of statures onely as wee in England, having no edge tooles or weapons of yron or steele to offend us withall, neither knowe they how to make any: those weapons that they have, are onely bowes made of Witch-hazle, and arrowes of reedes, flat edged truncheons also of wood about a yard long, neither have they any thing to defend themselves but targets made of barkes, and some armours made of sticks wickered together with thread.

Jaques Cartier, voyage 2. chap. 8.

Their townes are but small, and neere the Sea coast but fewe, some contayning but tenne or twelve houses; some 20. the greatest that we have seene hath bene but of 30. houses: if they bee walled, it is onely done with barkes of trees made fast to stakes, or els with poles onely fixed upright, and close one by another.

Their houses are made of small poles, made fast at the tops in round forme after the maner as is used in many arbories in our gardens of England, in most

townes covered with barkes, and in some with artificiall mats made of long rushes, from the tops of the houses downe to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in some places they are but 12. and 16. yards long, and in other some we have seene of foure and twentie.

In some places of the Countrey, one onely towne belongeth to the government of a Wiroans or chiefe Lord, in other some two or three, in some sixe, eight, and more: the greatest Wiroans that yet wee had dealing with, had but eighteene townes in his government, and able to make not above seven or eight hundreth fighting men at the most. The language of every government is different from any other, and the further they are distant, the greater is the difference.

Their maner of warres amongst themselves is either by sudden surprising one an other most commonly about the dawning of the day, or moone-light, or els by ambushes, or some subtile devises. Set battels are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where either part may have some hope of defence, after the delivery of every arrow, in leaping behind some or other.

If there fall out any warres betweene us and them, what their fight is likely to bee, wee having advantages against them so many maner of wayes, as by our discipline, our strange weapons and devises else, especially Ordinance great and small, it may easily bee imagined: by the experience wee have had in some places, the turning up of their heeles against us in running away was their best defence.

In respect of us they are a people poore, and for want of skill and judgement in the knowledge and use of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before things of greater value: Notwithstanding, in their proper maner (considering the want of such meanes as we have), they seeme very ingenious. For although they have no such tooles, nor any such crafts, Sciences and Artes as

wee, yet in those things they doe, they shew excellencie of wit. And by how much they upon due consideration shall finde our maner of knowledges and crafts to exceede theirs in perfection, and speede for doing or execution, by so much the more is it probable that they should desire our friendship and love, and have the greater respect for pleasing and obeying us. Whereby may bee hoped, if meanes of good government be used, that they may in short time bee brought to civilitie, and the imbracing of true Religion.

Some religion they have already, which although it be farre from the trueth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier and sooner reformed.

They beleeve that there are many gods, which they call Mantoac, but of different sorts & degrees, one onely chiefe and great God, which hath bene from all [III. 277.] eternitie. Who, as they affirme, when hee purposed to make the world, made first other gods of a principall order, to be as meanes and instruments to be used in the creation and government to follow, and after the Sunne, moone, and starres as pettie gods, and the instruments of the other order more principal. First (they say) were made waters, out of which by the gods was made all diversitie of creatures that are visible or invisible.

For mankinde they say a woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods, conceived and brought foorth children: And in such sort they say they had their beginning. But how many yeeres or ages have passed since, they say they can make no relation, having no letters nor other such meanes as we to keepe Records of the particularities of times past, but onely tradition from father to sonne.

They thinke that all the gods are of humane shape, and therefore they represent them by images in the formes of men, which they call Kewasowok, one alone is called Kewas: them they place in houses appropriate or temples, which they call Machicomuck, where they

A VIRGINIAN PRIEST

worship, pray, sing, and make many times offring unto them. In some Machicomuck we have seene but one Kewas, in some two, and in other some three. The common sort thinke them to be also gods.

They beleeve also the immortalitie of the soule, that after this life as soone as the soule is departed from the body, according to the workes it hath done, it is either caried to heaven the habitacle of gods, there to enjoy perpetuall blisse and happinesse, or els to a great pitte or hole, which they thinke to be in the furthest parts of their part of the world toward the Sunne set, there to burne continually: the place they call Popogusso.

For the confirmation of this opinion, they tolde me two stories of two men that had bene lately dead and revived againe, the one happened but few yeeres before our comming into the Countrey of a wicked man, which having bene dead and buried, the next day the earth of the grave being seene to move, was taken up againe, who made declaration where his soule had bene, that is to say, very neere entring into Popogusso, had not one of the gods saved him, and gave him leave to returne againe, and teach his friends what they should do to avoyd that terrible place of torment. The other happened in the same yeere we were there, but in a towne that was 60. miles from us, and it was told me for strange newes, that one being dead, buried, and taken up againe as the first, shewed that although his body had lien dead in the grave, yet his soule was alive, & had travailed farre in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew most delicate and pleasant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruits, then ever hee had seene before, or was able to expresse, and at length came to most brave and faire houses, neere which he met his father that had bene dead before, who gave him great charge to goe backe againe, and shew his friendes what good they were to doe to enjoy the pleasures of that place, which when he had done he should after come againe.

What subtiltie soever be in the Wiroances and priestes, this opinion worketh so much in many of the common and simple sort of people, that it maketh them have great respect to their Governours, and also great care what they doe, to avoyd torment after death, and to enjoy blisse, although notwithstanding there is punishment ordeined for malefactours, as stealers, whoremongers, and other sorts of wicked doers, some punished with death, some with forfeitures, some with beating, according to the greatnesse of the facts.

And this is the summe of their Religion, which I learned by having speciall familiaritie with some of their priests. Wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gave such credite to their traditions and stories, but through conversing with us they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiration of ours, with earnest desire in many, to learne more then wee had meanes for want of perfect utterance in their language to expresse.

Most things they sawe with us, as Mathematicall instruments, sea Compasses, the vertue of the load-stone in drawing yron, a perspective glasse whereby was shewed many strange sights, burning glasses, wilde firewoorkes, gunnes, hookes, writing and reading, spring-clockes that seeme to goe of themselves and many other things that wee had were so strange unto them, and so farre exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and meanes how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then of men, or at the leastwise they had bene given and taught us of the gods. Which made many of them to have such opinion of us, as that if they knew not the trueth of God and Religion already, it was rather to bee had from us whom God so specially loved, then from a people that were so simple, as they found themselves to be in comparison of us. Whereupon greater credite was given unto that wee spake of, concerning such matters.

Many times and in every towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was set foorth the true and onely God, and his mightie workes, that therein [III. 278.] was conteined the true doctrine of salvation through Christ, with many particularities of Miracles and chiefe points of Religion, as I was able then to utter, and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the booke materially and of it selfe was not of any such vertue, as I thought they did conceive, but onely the doctrine therein conteined: yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to holde it to their breastes and heads, and stroke over all their body with it, to shew their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.

The Wiroans with whom we dwelt called Wingina, and many of his people would bee glad many times to be with us at our Prayers, and many times call upon us both in his owne towne, as also in others whither hee sometimes accompanied us, to pray and sing Psalmes, hoping thereby to be partaker of the same effects which we by that meanes also expected.

Twise this Wiroans was so grievously sicke that he was like to die, and as he lay languishing, doubting of any helpe by his owne priestes, and thinking hee was in such danger for offending us and thereby our God, sent for some of us to pray and bee a meanes to our God that it would please him either that he might live, or after death dwell with him in blisse, so likewise were the requests of many others in the like case.

On a time also when their corne began to wither by reason of a drought which happened extraordinarily, fearing that it had come to passe by reason that in some thing they had displeased us, many would come to us and desire us to pray to our God of England, that he would preserve their Corne, promising that when it was ripe we also should be partakers of the fruit.

There could at no time happen any strange sicknesse, losses, hurts, or any other crosse unto them, but that they would impute to us the cause or meanes thereof, for offending or not pleasing us. One other rare and strange accident, leaving others, wil I mention before I end, which moved the whole Countrey that either knew or heard of us, to have us in wonderfull admiration.

There was no towne where wee had any subtile devise practised against us, wee leaving it unpunished or not revenged (because we sought by all meanes possible to win them by gentlenesse) but that within a few dayes after our departure from every such Towne, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space, in some Townes about twentie, in some fourtie, and in one sixe score, which in trueth was very many in respect of their numbers. This happened in no place that we could learne, but where we had bin, where they used some practise against us, & after such time. The disease also was so strange, that they neither knewe what it was, nor how to cure it, the like by report of the oldest men in the Countrey never happened before, time out of minde. A thing specially observed by us, as also by the naturall inhabitants themselves. Insomuch that when some of the inhabitants which were our friends, and especially the Wiroans Wingina, had observed such effects in foure or five Townes to followe their wicked practises, they were perswaded that it was the worke of our God through our meanes, and that we by him might kill and slay whom we would without weapons, and not come neere them. And thereupon when it had happened that they had understanding that any of their enemies had abused us in our journeys, hearing that we had wrought no revenge with our weapons, and fearing upon some cause the matter should so rest: did come and intreate us that we would be a meanes to our God that they as others that had dealt ill with us might in like sort die,

alleadging how much it would bee for our credite and profite, as also theirs, and hoping furthermore that we would doe so much at their requests in respect of the friendship we professed them.

Whose entreaties although wee shewed that they were ungodly, affirming that our God would not subject himselfe to any such prayers and requests of men: that indeede all things have bene and were to be done according to his good pleasure as he had ordeined: and that we to shewe our selves his true servants ought rather to make petition for the contrary, that they with them might live together with us, be made partakers of his trueth, and serve him in righteousnesse, but notwithstanding in such sort, that wee referre that, as all other things, to bee done according to his divine will and pleasure, and as by his wisedome he had ordeined to be best.

Yet because the effect fell out so suddenly and shortly after according to their desires, they thought neverthelesse it came to passe by our meanes, & that we in using such speeches unto them, did but dissemble the matter, and therefore came unto us to give us thankes in their maner, that although we satisfied them not in promise, yet in deedes and effect we had fulfilled their desires.

This marveilous accident in all the Countrey wrought so strange opinions of us, that some people could not tell whether to thinke us gods or men, and the rather because that all the space of their sicknes, there was no man of ours knowen to die, or that was specially sicke: they noted also that we had no women amongst us, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we [III. 279.] were men of an old generation many yeeres past, then risen againe to immortalitie.

Some would likewise seeme to prophecie that there were more of our generation yet to come to kill theirs

and take their places, as some thought the purpose was, by that which was already done. Those that were immediatly to come after us they imagined to be in the aire, yet invisible and without bodies, and that they by our intreatie and for the love of us, did make the people to die in that sort as they did, by shooting invisible bullets into them.

To confirme this opinion, their Phisitions (to excuse their ignorance in curing the disease) would not be ashamed to say, but earnestly make the simple people beleeve, that the strings of blood that they sucked out of the sicke bodies, were the strings wherewithall the invisible bullets were tied and cast. Some also thought that wee shot them our selves out of our pieces, from the place where wee dwelt, and killed the people in any Towne that had offended us, as wee listed, howe farre distant from us soever it were. And other some said, that it was the speciall worke of God for our sakes, as we our selves have cause in some sort to thinke no lesse, whatsoever some doe, or may imagine to the contrary, specially some Astrologers, knowing of the Eclipse of the Sunne which we saw the same yeere before in our voyage thitherward, which unto them appeared very terrible. And also of a Comet which began to appeare but a fewe dayes before the beginning of the saide sicknesse. But to exclude them from being the speciall causes of so speciall an accident, there are further reasons then I thinke fit at this present to be alleadged. These their opinions I have set downe the more at large, that it may appeare unto you that there is good hope they may be brought through discreete dealing and government to the imbracing of the trueth, and consequently to honour, obey, feare and love us.

And although some of our company towards the end of the yeere, shewed themselves too fierce in slaying some of the people in some Townes, upon causes that on our part might easily ynough have bene borne

withall: yet notwithstanding, because it was on their part justly deserved, the alteration of their opinions generally and for the most part concerning us is the lesse to be doubted. And whatsoever els they may be, by carefulnesse of our selves neede nothing at all to be feared.

The conclusion.

NOw I have (as I hope) made relation not of so few and small things, but that the Countrey (of men that are indifferent and well disposed) may bee sufficiently liked: If there were no more knowen then I have mentioned, which doubtlesse and in great reason is nothing to that which remaineth to be discovered, neither the soyle, nor commodities. As we have reason so to gather by the difference we found in our travailes, for although al which I have before spoken of, have bene discovered and experimented not farre from the Sea coast, where was our abode and most of our travailing: yet sometimes as we made our journeys further into the maine and Countrey; we found the soile to be fatter, the trees greater and to grow thinner, the ground more firme and deeper mould, more and larger champions, finer grasse, and as good as ever we saw any in England; in some places rockie and farre more high and hilly ground, more plentie of their fruites, more abundance of beastes, the more inhabited with people, and of greater pollicie and larger dominions, with greater townes and houses.

Why may wee not then looke for in good hope from the inner parts of more and greater plentie, as well of other things, as of those which wee have already discovered? Unto the Spaniards happened the like in discovering the maine of the West Indies. The maine also of this Countrey of Virginia, extending some wayes so many hundreds of leagues, as otherwise then by the relation of the inhabitants wee have most certaine knowledge of, where yet no Christian prince hath

any possession or dealing, cannot but yeelde many kinds of excellent commodities, which we in our discovery have not yet seene.

What hope there is els to bee gathered of the nature of the Climate, being answerable to the Iland of Japan, the land of China, Persia, Jury, the Ilands of Cyprus and Candy, the South parts of Greece, Italy and Spaine, and of many other notable and famous Countreys, because I meane not to be tedious, I leave to your owne consideration.

Whereby also the excellent temperature of the aire there at all seasons, much warmer then in England, and never so vehemently hot, as sometimes is under and betweene the Tropikes, or neere them, cannot be knowen unto you without further relation.

[III. 280.] For the holsomnesse thereof I neede to say but thus much: that for all the want of provision, as first of English victuall, excepting for twentie dayes, we lived onely by drinking water, and by the victuall of the Countrey, of which some sorts were very strange unto us, and might have bene thought to have altered our temperatures in such sort, as to have brought us into some grievous and dangerous diseases: Secondly the want of English meanes, for the taking of beastes, fish and foule, which by the helpe onely of the inhabitants and their meanes could not bee so suddenly and easily provided for us, nor in so great number and quantities, nor of that choise as otherwise might have bene to our better satisfaction and contentment. Some want also we had of clothes. Furthermore in al our travailes, which were most specially and often in the time of Winter, our lodging was in the open aire upon the ground. And yet I say for all this, there were but foure of our whole company (being one hundreth and eight) that died all the yeere, and that but at the latter ende thereof, and upon none of the aforesaide causes. For all foure, especially three, were feeble, weake, and

This want is hereafter to be supplied.

sickly persons before ever they came thither, and those that knew them, much marveled that they lived so long being in that case, or had adventured to travaile.

Seeing therefore the aire there is so temperate and holsome, the soyle so fertile, and yeelding such commodities, as I have before mentioned, the voyage also thither to and fro being sufficiently experimented to be perfourmed twise a yeere with ease, and at any season thereof: And the dealing of Sir Walter Ralegh so liberall in large giving and granting lande there, as is already knowen, with many helpes and furtherances else: (The least that he hath granted hath bene five hundreth acres to a man onely for the adventure of his person) I hope there remaines no cause whereby the action should be misliked.

If that those which shall thither travaile to inhabite and plant bee but reasonably provided for the first yeere, as those are which were transported the last, and being there, doe use but that diligence and care, that is requisit, and as they may with ease: There is no doubt, but for the time following, they may have victuals that are excellent good and plentie ynough, some more English sorts of cattel also hereafter, as some have bene before, and are there yet remayning, may, and shall be (God willing) thither transported. So likewise, our kinde of fruites, rootes, and hearbes, may be there planted and sowed, as some have bene already, and prove well: And in short time also they may raise so much of those sorts of commodities which I have spoken of, as shall both enrich themselves, as also others that shall deale with them.

And this is all the fruit of our labours, that I have thought necessary to advertise you of at this present: What else concerneth the nature and maners of the inhabitants of Virginia, the number with the particularities of the voyages thither made, and of the actions of such as have bene by Sir Walter Ralegh therein, and there imployed, many worthy to be remembred, as of

the first discoverers of the Countrey, of our Generall for the time Sir Richard Grinvil, and after his departure of our Governour there Master Ralph Lane, with divers other directed and imployed under their government: Of the Captaines and Masters of the voyages made since for transportation, of the Governour and assistants of those already transported, as of many persons, accidents, and things els, I have ready in a discourse by it selfe in maner of a Chronicle, according to the course of times: which when time shall be thought convenient, shall be also published.

Thus referring my relation to your favourable constructions, expecting good successe of the action, from him which is to be acknowledged the authour and governour, not onely of this, but of all things els, I take my leave of you, this moneth of February 1587.

The fourth voyage made to Virginia with three ships, in the yere 1587. Wherein was transported the second Colonie.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1587. Sir Walter Ralegh intending to persevere in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of one hundred and fiftie men to be sent thither, under the charge of John White, whom hee appointed Governour, and also appointed unto him twelve Assistants, unto whom hee gave a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Governour and Assistants of the Citie of Ralegh in Virginia.

April.

OUr Fleete being in number three saile, viz. the Admirall a shippe of one hundred and twentie Tunnes, a Flie-boate, and a Pinnesse, departed the sixe and twentieth of April from Portesmouth, and the same day came to an ancker at the Cowes in the Isle of Wight, where wee stayed eight dayes.

May.

THe fift of May, at nine of the clocke at night we came to Plimmouth, where we remained the space of two dayes.

The 8 we weyed anker at Plimmouth, and departed thence for Virginia.

The 16 Simon Ferdinando, Master of our Admiral, lewdly forsooke our Fly-boate, leaving her distressed in the Bay of Portugal.

June.

THe 19 we fell with "Dominica, and the same even- ing we sayled betweene it, and Guadalupe: the 21 the Fly-boat also fell with Dominica.

"One of the Isles of the Indies inhabited with Savages.

The 22 we came to an anker at an Island called Santa Cruz, where all the planters were set on land, staying there till the 25 of the same moneth. At our first landing on this Island, some of our women, and men, by eating a small fruit like greene Apples, were fearefully troubled with a sudden burning in their mouthes, and swelling of their tongues so bigge, that some of them could not speake. Also a child by sucking one of those womens breasts, had at that instant his mouth set on such a burning, that it was strange to see how the infant was tormented for the time: but after 24 houres, it ware away of it selfe.

Circumspection to be used in strange places.

Also the first night of our being on this Island, we tooke five great Torteses, some of them of such bignes, that sixteene of our strongest men were tired with cary- ing of one of them but from the sea side to our cabbins. In this Island we found no watring place, but a standing ponde, the water whereof was so evill, that many of our company fell sicke with drinking thereof: and as many as did but wash their faces with that water, in the morn- ing before the Sunne had drawen away the corruption, their faces did so burne and swell, that their eyes were shut up, and could not see in five or sixe dayes, or longer.

The second day of our abode there, we sent forth some of our men to search the Island for fresh water, three one way, and two another way. The Governour also, with sixe others, went up to the top of an high hill, to viewe the Island, but could perceive no signe of any men, or beastes, nor any goodnes, but Parots, and trees of Guiacum. Returning backe to our cabbins another way, he found in the discent of a hill, certaine potsheards of savage making, made of the earth of that Island: whereupon it was judged, that this Island was inhabited with Savages, though Fernando had told us for certaine the contrary. The same day at night, the rest of our company very late returned to the Governour. The one company affirmed, that they had seene in a valley eleven Savages, and divers houses halfe a mile distant from the steepe, or toppe of the hill where they stayed. The other company had found running out of a high rocke a very fayre spring of water, whereof they brought three bottels to the company: for before that time, wee drank the stinking water of the pond.

The same second day at night Captaine Stafford, with the Pinnesse, departed from our fleete, riding at Santa Cruz, to an Island, called Beake, lying neere S. John, being so directed by Ferdinando, who assured him he should there find great plenty of sheepe. The next day at night, our planters left Santa Cruz, and came all aboord, and the next morning after, being the 25 of June we weyed anker, and departed from Santa Cruz.

The seven and twentieth we came to anker at Cottea, where we found the Pinnesse riding at our comming.

The 28 we weyed anker at Cottea, and presently came to anker at S. Johns in Musketos Bay, where we spent three dayes unprofitable in taking in fresh water, spending in the meane time more beere then the quantitie of the water came unto.

Julie.

THe first day we weyed anker at "Musketoes Bay, where were left behind two Irish men of our company, Darbie Glaven, and Denice Carrell, bearing along the coast of S. Johns till evening, at which time wee fell with Rosse Bay. At this place Ferdinando had promised wee should take in salte, and had caused us before, to make and provide as many sackes for that purpose, as we could. The Governour also, for that hee understood there was a Towne in the bottome of the Bay, not farre from the salt hils, appointed thirty shot, tenne pikes, and ten targets, to man the Pinnesse, and to goe aland for salt. Ferdinando perceiving them in a readines, sent to the Governour, using great perswasions with him, not to take in salt there, saying that hee knew not well whether the same were the place or not: also, that if the Pinnesse went into the Bay, she could not without great danger come backe, till the next day at night, and that if in the meane time any storme should rise, the Admirall were in danger to bee cast away. Whilest he was thus perswading, he caused the lead to be cast, and having craftily brought the shippe in three fadome and a halfe water, he suddenly began to sweare, and teare God in pieces, dissembling great danger, crying to him at the helme, beare up hard, beare up hard: so we went off, and were disappointed of our salt, by his meanes.

"Musketos Bay, is a harbour upon the south side of S. Johns Island, where we take in fresh water.

[III. 282.]

The next day sayling along the West end of S. John, the Governour determined to go aland in S. Germans "Bay, to gather yong plants of Orenges, Pines, Mameas, and Plantanos, to set at Virginia, which we knew might easily be had, for that they grow neere the shore, and the places where they grew, well knowen to the Governour, and some of the planters: but our Simon denied it, saying: he would come to an anker at Hispaniola, & there land the Governour, and some other of the Assistants, with the pinnesse, to see if he could speake with his friend Alanson, of whom he hoped to be furnished both

"A pleasant and fruitfull countrey, lying on the west end of S. Johns Island, where groweth plenty of Orenges, Limons, Plantans, & Pines.

of cattel, and all such things as we would have taken in at S. John: but he meant nothing lesse, as it plainely did appeare to us afterwards.

The next day after, being the third of July, we saw Hispaniola, and bare with the coast all that day, looking still when the pinnesse should be prepared to goe for the place where Ferdinando his friend Alanson was: but that day passed, and we saw no preparation for landing in Hispaniola.

The 4 of July, sayling along the coast of Hispaniola, untill the next day at noone, and no preparation yet seene for the staying there, we having knowledge that we were past the place where Alanson dwelt, and were come with Isabella: hereupon Ferdinando was asked by the Governor, whether he meant to speake with Alanson, for the taking in of cattell, and other things, according to his promise, or not: but he answered that he was now past the place, and that Sir Walter Ralegh told him, the French Ambassador certified him, that the king of Spaine had sent for Alanson into Spaine: wherefore he thought him dead, and that it was to no purpose to touch there in any place, at this voyage.

The next day we left sight of Hispaniola, and haled off for Virginia, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone.

The sixt of July we came to the Island Caycos, wherein Ferdinando sayd were two salt pondes, assuring us if they were drie, we might find salt to shift with, untill the next supply: but it prooved as true as finding of sheepe at Baque. In this Island, whilest Ferdinando solaced himselfe ashore, with one of the company, in part of the Island, others spent the latter part of that day in other parts of the Island, some to seeke the salt ponds, some fowling, some hunting Swans, whereof we caught many. The next day early in the morning we weyed anker, leaving Caycos, with good hope, that the first land that we saw next should be Virginia.

About the 16 of July we fel with the maine of Virginia, which Simon Ferdinando tooke to be the Island of

Croatoan, where we came to anker, and rode there two or three dayes: but finding himselfe deceived, he weyed, and bare along the coast, where in the night, had not Captaine Stafford bene more carefull in looking out, then our Simon Ferdinando, we had bene all cast away upon the breach, called the Cape of Feare, for we were come within two cables length upon it: such was the carelesnes, and ignorance of our Master.

The two and twentieth of July wee arrived safe at Hatorask, where our ship and pinnesse ankered: the Governour went aboord the pinnesse, accompanied with fortie of his best men, intending to passe up to Roanoak foorthwith, hoping there to finde those fifteene Englishmen, which Sir Richard Grinvile had left there the yeere before, with whom hee meant to have conference, concerning the state of the Countrey, and Savages, meaning after he had so done, to returne againe to the fleete, and passe along the coast, to the Bay of Chesepiok, where we intended to make our seate and forte, according to the charge given us among other directions in writing, under the hande of Sir Walter Ralegh: but assoone as we were put with our pinnesse from the ship, a Gentleman by the meanes of Ferdinando, who was appointed to returne for England, called to the sailers in the pinnesse, charging them not to bring any of the planters backe againe, but to leave them in the Island, except the Governour, & two or three such as he approved, saying that the Summer was farre spent, wherefore hee would land all the planters in no other place. Unto this were all the saylers, both in the pinnesse, and shippe, perswaded by the Master, wherefore it booted not the Governour to contend with them, but passed to Roanoak, and the same night at sunne-set went aland on the Island, in the place where our fifteene men were left, but we found none of them, nor any signe that they had bene there, saving onely wee found the bones of one of those fifteene, which the Savages had slaine long before.

An intent to plant in the Bay of Chesepiok.

The three and twentieth of July the Governour with

[III. 283.] divers of his company, walked to the North ende of the Island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his forte, with sundry necessary and decent dwelling houses, made by his men about it the yeere before, where wee hoped to find some signes, or certaine knowledge of our fifteene men. When we came thither, we found the fort rased downe, but all the houses standing unhurt, saving that the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were overgrowen with Melons of divers sortes, and Deere within them, feeding on those Melons: so wee returned to our company, without hope of ever seeing any of the fifteene men living.

The same day order was given, that every man should be employed for the repayring of those houses, which wee found standing, and also to make other newe Cottages, for such as should neede.

The 25 our Flyboate and the rest of our planters arrived all safe at Hatoraske, to the great joy and comfort of the whole company: but the Master of our Admirall Ferdinando grieved greatly at their safe comming: for hee purposely left them in the Bay of Portugal, and stole away from them in the night, hoping that the Master thereof, whose name was Edward Spicer, for that he never had bene in Virginia, would hardly finde the place, or els being left in so dangerous a place as that was, by meanes of so many men of warre, as at that time were abroad, they should surely be taken, or slaine: but God disappointed his wicked pretenses.

Edward Spicer.

The eight and twentieth, George Howe, one of our twelve Assistants was slaine by divers Savages, which were come over to Roanoak, either of purpose to espie our company, and what number we were, or else to hunt Deere, whereof were many in the Island. These Savages being secretly hidden among high reedes, where oftentimes they find the Deere asleep, and so kill them, espied our man wading in the water alone, almost naked, without any weapon, save only a smal forked sticke, catching Crabs therewithall, and also being strayed two miles from

his company, and shot at him in the water, where they gave him sixteen wounds with their arrowes: and after they had slaine him with their woodden swords, they beat his head in pieces, and fled over the water to the maine.

On the thirtieth of July Master Stafford and twenty of our men passed by water to the Island of Croatoan, with Manteo, who had his mother, and many of his kinred dwelling in that Island, of whom wee hoped to understand some newes of our fifteene men, but especially to learne the disposition of the people of the countrey towards us, and to renew our old friendship with them. At our first landing they seemed as though they would fight with us: but perceiving us begin to march with our shot towardes them, they turned their backes, and fled. Then Manteo their countrey man called to them in their owne language, whom, assoone as they heard, they returned, and threwe away their bowes and arrowes, and some of them came unto us, embracing and entertaining us friendly, desiring us not to gather or spill any of their corne, for that they had but little. We answered them, that neither their corne, nor any other thing of theirs, should be diminished by any of us, and that our comming was onely to renew the old love, that was betweene us and them at the first, and to live with them as brethren and friends: which answere seemed to please them well, wherefore they requested us to walke up to their Towne, who there feasted us after their maner, and desired us earnestly, that there might bee some token or badge given them of us, whereby we might know them to be our friends, when we met them any where out of the Towne or Island. They told us further, that for want of some such badge, divers of them were hurt the yeere before, being found out of the Island by Master Lane his company, whereof they shewed us one, which at that very instant lay lame, and had lien of that hurt ever since: but they sayd, they knew our men mistooke them, and hurt them in stead of Winginos men, wherefore they held us excused.

August.

THe next day we had conference further with them, concerning the people of Secotan, Aquascogoc, & Pomeiok, willing them of Croatoan to certifie the people of those townes, that if they would accept our friendship, we would willingly receive them againe, and that all unfriendly dealings past on both parts, should be utterly forgiven and forgotten. To this the chiefe men of Croatoan answered, that they would gladly doe the best they could, and within seven dayes, bring the Wiroances and chiefe Governours of those townes with them, to our Governour at Roanoak, or their answere. We also understood of the men of Croatoan, that our man Master Howe was slaine by the remnant of Winginos men dwelling then at Dasamonguepeuk, with whom Wanchese kept companie: and also we understood by them of Croatoan, how that the 15 Englishmen left at Roanoak the yeere before, by Sir Richard Grinvile, were suddenly [III. 284.] set upon, by 30 of the men of Secota, Aquascogoc, and Dasamonguepeuk, in manner following. They conveyed themselves secretly behind the trees, neere the houses where our men carelesly lived: and having perceived that of those fifteene they could see but eleven only, two of those Savages appeared to the 11 Englishmen, calling to them by friendly signes, that but two of their chiefest men should come unarmed to speake with those two Savages, who seemed also to bee unarmed. Wherefore two of the chiefest of our Englishmen went gladly to them: but whilest one of those Savages traiterously imbraced one of our men, the other with his sworde of wood, which he had secretly hidden under his mantell, strooke him on the head and slew him, and presently the other eight and twenty Savages shewed them selves: the other Englishman perceiving this, fled to his company, whom the Savages pursued with their bowes, and arrowes, so fast, that the Englishmen were forced to take the house, wherein all their victuall, and weapons were: but the

Savages foorthwith set the same on fire: by meanes wherof our men were forced to take up such weapons as came first to hand, and without order to runne foorth among the Savages, with whom they skirmished above an howre. In this skirmish another of our men was shotte into the mouth with an arrow, where hee died: and also one of the Savages was shot into the side by one of our men, with a wild fire arrow, whereof he died presently. The place where they fought was of great advantage to the Savages, by meanes of the thicke trees, behinde which the Savages through their nimblenes, defended themselves, and so offended our men with their arrowes, that our men being some of them hurt, retyred fighting to the water side, where their boat lay, with which they fled towards Hatorask. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they espied their foure fellowes comming from a creeke thereby, where they had bene to fetch Oysters: these foure they received into their boate, leaving Roanoak, and landed on a little Island on the right hand of our entrance into the harbour of Hatorask, where they remayned a while, but afterward departed, whither as yet we know not.

Having nowe sufficiently dispatched our businesse at Croatoan, the same day we departed friendly, taking our leave, and came aboord the fleete at Hatorask.

The eight of August, the Governour having long expected the comming of the Wiroanses of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc, Secota, and Dasamonguepeuk, seeing that the seven dayes were past, within which they promised to come in, or to send their answeres by the men of Croatoan, and no tidings of them heard, being certainly also informed by those men of Croatoan, that the remnant of Wingina his men, which were left alive, who dwelt at Dasamonquepeuk, were they which had slaine George Howe, and were also at the driving of our eleven Englishmen from Roanoak, hee thought to deferre the revenge thereof no longer. Wherefore the same night about midnight, he passed over the water,

accompanied with Captaine Stafford, and 24 men, wherof Manteo was one, whom we tooke with us to be our guide to the place where those Savages dwelt, where he behaved himselfe toward us as a most faithfull Englishman.

The next day, being the 9 of August, in the morning so early that it was yet darke, we landed neere the dwelling place of our enemies, & very secretly conveyed our selves through the woods, to that side, where we had their houses betweene us and the water: and having espied their fire, and some sitting about it, we presently set on them: the miserable soules herewith amazed, fled into a place of thicke reedes, growing fast by, where our men perceiving them, shot one of them through the bodie with a bullet, and therewith we entred the reedes, among which we hoped to acquite their evill doing towards us, but we were deceived, for those Savages were our friends, and were come from Croatoan to gather the corne & fruit of that place, because they understood our enemies were fled immediatly after they had slaine George Howe, and for haste had left all their corne, Tobacco, and Pompions standing in such sort, that al had bene devoured of the birds, and Deere, if it had not bene gathered in time: but they had like to have payd deerely for it: for it was so darke, that they being naked, and their men and women apparelled all so like others, wee knew not but that they were al men: and if that one of them which was a Wiroances wife had not had a child at her backe, shee had bene slaine in stead of a man, and as hap was, another Savage knew master Stafford, and ran to him, calling him by his name, whereby hee was saved. Finding our selves thus disappointed of our purpose, we gathered al the corne, Pease, Pompions, and Tabacco that we found ripe, leaving the rest unspoyled, and tooke Menatoan his wife, with the yong child, and the other Savages with us over the water to Roanoak.

Although the mistaking of these Savages somewhat grieved Manteo, yet he imputed their harme to their owne folly, saying to them, that if their Wiroances had kept their promise in comming to the Governour at the day appointed, they had not knowen that mischance.

The 13 of August our Savage Manteo, by the commandement of Sir Walter Ralegh, was christened in [III. 285.] Roanoak, and called Lord thereof, and of Dasamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithfull service.

The 18 Elenor, daughter to the Governour, and wife to Ananias Dare one of the Assistants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sonday following, and because this child was the first Christian borne in Virginia, shee was named Virginia. By this time our ships had unladen the goods and victuals of the planters, and began to take in wood, and fresh water, and to new calke and trimme them for England: the planters also prepared their letters and tokens to send backe into England.

Our two ships, the Lion and the Flyboat almost ready to depart, the 21 of August, there arose such a tempest at Northeast, that our Admirall then riding out of the harbour, was forced to cut his cables, and put to sea, where he lay beating off and on sixe dayes before he could come to us againe, so that we feared he had bene cast away, and the rather for that at the time that the storme tooke them, the most and best of their sailers were left aland.

At this time some controversies arose betweene the Governour and Assistants, about choosing two out of the twelve Assistants, which should goe backe as factors for the company into England: for every one of them refused, save onely one, which all other thought not sufficient: but at length by much perswading of the Governour, Christopher Cooper only agreed to goe for England: but the next day, through the perswasion of divers of his familiar friends, hee changed his minde, so that now the matter stood as at the first.

The next day, the 22 of August, the whole company both of the Assistants and planters came to the Governour, and with one voice requested him to returne himselfe into England, for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies, and other necessaries for them: but he refused it, and alleaged many sufficient causes, why he would not: the one was, that he could not so suddenly returne backe againe without his great discredite, leaving the action, and so many whome hee partly had procured through his perswasions, to leave their native countrey, and undertake that voyage, and that some enemies to him and the action at his returne into England would not spare to slander falsly both him and the action, by saying, hee went to Virginia, but politikely, and to no other end but to leade so many into a countrey, in which hee never meant to stay himselfe, and there to leave them behind him. Also he alleaged, that seeing they intended to remove 50 miles further up into the maine presently, he being then absent, his stuffe and goods might be both spoiled, & most of them pilfered away in the cariage, so that at his returne he should be either forced to provide himselfe of all such things againe, or else at his comming againe to Virginia find himselfe utterly unfurnished, whereof already he had found some proofe, being but once from them but three dayes. Wherefore he concluded that he would not goe himselfe.

Their meaning to remove 50 miles into the countrey.

The next day, not onely the Assistants but divers others, as well women as men, began to renew their requests to the Governour againe, to take upon him to returne into England for the supply, and dispatch of all such things as there were to be done, promising to make him their bond under all their handes and seales for the safe preserving of all his goods for him at his returne to Virginia, so that if any part thereof were spoyled or lost, they would see it restored to him, or his Assignes, whensoever the same should be missed

and demanded: which bond, with a testimony under their hands and seales, they foorthwith made, and delivered into his hands. The copie of the testimony I thought good to set downe.

May it please you, her Majesties subjects of England, we your friends and countrey-men, the planters in Virginia, doe by these presents let you and every of you to understand, that for the present and speedy supply of certaine our knowen and apparent lackes and needes, most requisite and necessary for the good and happy planting of us, or any other in this land of Virginia, wee all of one minde & consent, have most earnestly intreated, and uncessantly requested John White, Governour of the planters in Virginia, to passe into England, for the better and more assured help, and setting forward of the foresayd supplies: and knowing assuredly that he both can best, and wil labour and take paines in that behalfe for us all, and he not once, but often refusing it, for our sakes, and for the honour & maintenance of the action, hath at last, though much against his will, through our importunacie, yeelded to leave his governement, and all his goods among us, and himselfe in all our behalfes to passe into England, of whose knowledge and fidelitie in handling this matter, as all others, we doe assure ourselves by these presents, and will you to give all credite thereunto, the 25 of August 1587.

The Governour being at the last through their extreame intreating constrayned to returne into England, having then but halfe a dayes respite to prepare himselfe for the same, departed from Roanoak the seven and twentieth of August in the morning, and the same day about midnight, came aboord the Flieboat, who [III. 286.] already had weyed anker, and rode without the barre, the Admirall riding by them, who but the same morning was newly come thither againe. The same day both the ships weyed anker, and set saile for England: at this weying their ankers, twelve of the men which

were in the Flyboate were throwen from the Capstone, which by meanes of a barre and brake, came so fast about upon them, that the other two barres thereof strooke and hurt most of them so sore, that some of them never recovered it: neverthelesse they assayed presently againe to wey their anker, but being so weakened with the first fling, they were not able to weye it, but were throwen downe and hurt the second time. Wherefore having in all but fifteene men aboord, and most of them by this unfortunate beginning so bruised, and hurt, they were forced to cut their Cable, and leese their anker. Neverthelesse, they kept company with the Admirall, untill the seventeenth of September, at which time wee fell with Corvo, and sawe Flores.

September.

THe eighteenth, perceiving of all our fifteene men in the Flyboate there remained but five, which by meanes of the former mischance, were able to stand to their labour: and that the Admirall meant not to make any haste for England, but to linger about the Island of Tercera for purchase: the Flyboate departed for England with letters, where we hoped by the help of God to arrive shortly: but by that time we had continued our course homeward about twenty dayes, having had sometimes scarse and variable windes, our fresh water also by leaking almost consumed, there arose a storme at North-east, which for sixe dayes ceased not to blowe so exceeding, that we were driven further in those sixe then we could recover in thirteene daies: in which time others of our saylers began to fall very sicke and two of them dyed, the weather also continued so close, that our Master sometimes in foure dayes together could see neither sunne nor starre, and all the beverage we could make, with stinking water, dregs of beere, and lees of wine which remayned, was but three gallons, and therefore now we expected nothing but famine to perish at Sea.

October.

THe 16 of October we made land, but we knewe not what land it was, bearing in with the same land at that day: about sunne set we put into a harbour, where we found a Hulke of Dublin, and a pinnesse of Hampton riding, but we knew not as yet what place this was, neither had we any boate to goe ashore, untill the pinnesse sent off their boate to us with 6 or 8 men, of whom we understood wee were in Smerwick in the West parts of Ireland: they also releeved us presently with fresh water, wine, and other fresh meate. *Smerwick in the West of Ireland.*

The 18 the Governour and the Master ryd to Dingen a Cushe, 5 miles distant, to take order for the new victualing of our Flieboate for England, and for reliefe of our sicke and hurt men, but within foure daies after the Boatswain, the Steward, and the Boatswains mate died aboord the Flieboat, and the 28 the Masters mate and two of our chiefe sailers were brought sicke to Dingen.

November.

THe first the Governour shipped himselfe in a ship called the Monkie, which at that time was ready to put to sea from Dingen for England, leaving the Flyboat and all his companie in Ireland. The same day we set sayle, and on the third day we fell with the North side of the lands end, and were shut up the Severne, but the next day we doubled the same for Mounts Bay.

The 5 the Governour landed in England at Martasew, neere Saint Michaels mount in Cornewall.

The 8 we arrived at Hampton, where we understood that our consort the Admiral was come to Portsmouth, and had bene there three weekes before: and also that Ferdinando the Master with all his company were not onely come home without any purchase, but also in such weaknesse by sicknesse, and death of their chiefest men, that they were scarse able to bring their ship into harbour, but were forced to let fall anker without, which they

could not wey againe, but might all have perished there, if a small barke by great hap had not come to them to helpe them. The names of the chiefe men that died are these, Roger Large, John Mathew, Thomas Smith, and some other saylers, whose names I knew not at the writing hereof. An. Dom. 1587.

[III. 287.] The names of all the men, women and children, which safely arrived in Virginia, and remained to inhabite there. 1587. Anno regni Reginæ Elizabethæ. 29.

JOhn White.
Roger Baily.
Ananias Dare.
Christopher Cooper.
Thomas Stevens.
John Sampson.
Dyonis Harvie.
Roger Prat.
George How.
Simon Fernando.
Nicholas Johnson.
Thomas Warner.
Anthony Cage.
John Jones.
William Willes.
John Brooke.
Cutbert White.
John Bright.
Clement Tayler.
William Sole.
John Cotsmur.
Humfrey Newton.
Thomas Colman.
Thomas Gramme.
Marke Bennet.
John Gibbes.
John Stilman.
Robert Wilkinson.
John Tydway.
Ambrose Viccars.
Edmond English.
Thomas Topan.
Henry Berry.
Richard Berry.
John Spendlove.
John Hemmington.
Thomas Butler.
Edward Powell.
John Burden.
James Hynde.
Thomas Ellis.
William Browne.
Michael Myllet.
Thomas Smith.
Richard Kemme.
Thomas Harris.
Richard Taverner.
John Earnest.
Henry Johnson.
John Starte.
Richard Darige.
William Lucas.
Arnold Archard.
John Wright.

William Dutton.
Mauris Allen.
William Waters.
Richard Arthur.
John Chapman.
William Clement.
Robert Little.
Hugh Tayler.
Richard Wildye.
Lewes Wotton.
Michael Bishop.
Henry Browne.
Henry Rufoote.
Richard Tomkins.
Henry Dorrell.
Charles Florrie.
Henry Mylton.
Henry Paine.
Thomas Harris.
William Nichols.
Thomas Phevens.
John Borden.
Thomas Scot.
Peter Little.
John Wyles.
Brian Wyles.
George Martyn.
Hugh Pattenson.
Martin Sutton.
John Farre.
John Bridger.
Griffen Jones.
Richard Shabedge.
James Lasie.
John Cheven.
Thomas Hewet.
William Berde.

Women.

Elyoner Dare.
Margery Harvie.
Agnes Wood.
Wenefrid Powell.
Joyce Archard.
Jane Jones.
Elizabeth Glane.
Jane Pierce.
Audry Tappan.
Alis Chapman.
Emme Merrimoth.
Colman.
Margaret Lawrence.
Joan Warren.
Jane Mannering.
Rose Payne.
Elizabeth Viccars.

Boyes and children.

John Sampson.
Robert Ellis.
Ambrose Viccars.
Thomas Archard.
Thomas Humfrey.
Thomas Smart.
George How.
John Prat.
William Wythers.

Children borne in Virginia.

Virginia Dare.
Harvie.

Savages.

Manteo. } That were in England and returned home into Virginia with them.
Towaye. }

[To the

To the Worshipful and my very friend Master Richard Hakluyt, much happinesse in the Lord.

SIr, as well for the satisfying of your earnest request, as the performance of my promise made unto you at my last being with you in England, I have sent you (although in a homely stile, especially for the contentation of a delicate eare) the true discourse of my last voyage into the West Indies, and partes of America called Virginia, taken in hand about the end of Februarie, in the yeare of our redemption 1590. And what events [III. 288.] happened unto us in this our journey, you shall plainely perceive by the sequele of my discourse. There were at the time aforesaid three ships absolutely determined to goe for the West Indies, at the speciall charges of M. John Wattes of London Marchant. But when they were fully furnished, and in readinesse to make their departure, a generall stay was commanded of all ships thorowout England. Which so soone as I heard, I presently (as I thought it most requisite) acquainted Sir Walter Ralegh therewith, desiring him that as I had sundry times afore bene chargeable and troublesome unto him, for the supplies and reliefes of the planters in Virginia: so likewise, that by his endevour it would please him at that instant to procure license for those three ships to proceede on with their determined voyage, that thereby the people in Virginia (if it were God's pleasure) might speedily be comforted and relieved without further charges unto him. Whereupon he by his good meanes obtained license of the Queenes Majestie, and order to be taken, that the owner of the 3 ships should be bound unto Sir Walter Ralegh or his assignes, in 3000 pounds, that those 3 ships in consideration of their release-

ment should take in, & transport a convenient number of passengers, with their furnitures and necessaries to be landed in Virginia. Neverthelesse that order was not observed, neither was the bond taken according to the intention aforesaid. But rather in contempt of the aforesaid order, I was by the owner and Commanders of the ships denied to have any passengers, or any thing els transported in any of the said ships, saving only my selfe & my chest; no not so much as a boy to attend upon me, although I made great sute, & earnest intreatie aswell to the chiefe Commanders, as to the owner of the said ships. Which crosse and unkind dealing, although it very much discontented me, notwithstanding the scarsity of time was such, that I could have no opportunity to go unto Sir Walter Ralegh with complaint: for the ships being then all in readinesse to goe to the Sea, would have bene departed before I could have made my returne. Thus both Governors, Masters, and sailers, regarding very smally the good of their countreymen in Virginia; determined nothing lesse then to touch at those places, but wholly disposed themselves to seeke after purchase & spoiles, spending so much time therein, that sommer was spent before we arrived at Virginia. And when we were come thither, the season was so unfit, & weather so foule, that we were constrained of force to forsake that coast, having not seene any of our planters, with losse of one of our ship-boates, and 7 of our chiefest men: and also with losse of 3 of our ankers and cables, and most of our caskes with fresh water left on shore, not possible to be had aboord. Which evils & unfortunate events (as wel to their owne losse as to the hinderance of the planters in Virginia) had not chanced, if the order set downe by Sir Walter Ralegh had bene observed, or if my dayly & continuall petitions for the performance of the same might have taken any place. Thus may you plainely

perceive the successe of my fift & last voiage to Virginia, which was no lesse unfortunately ended then frowardly begun, and as lucklesse to many, as sinister to my selfe. But I would to God it had bene as prosperous to all, as noysome to the planters; & as joyfull to me, as discomfortable to them. Yet seeing it is not my first crossed voyage, I remaine contented. And wanting my wishes, I leave off from prosecuting that whereunto I would to God my wealth were answerable to my will. Thus committing the reliefe of my discomfortable company the planters in Virginia, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I most humbly beseech to helpe & comfort them, according to his most holy will & their good desire, I take my leave: from my house at Newtowne in Kylmore the 4 of February, 1593.

Your most welwishing friend,

JOHN WHITE.

The fift voyage of M. John White into the West Indies and parts of America called Virginia, in the yeere 1590.

THE 20 of March the three shippes the Hopewell, the John Evangelist, and the Little John, put to Sea from Plymmouth with two small Shallops.

The 25 at midnight both our Shallops were sunke being towed at the ships stearnes by the Boatswaines negligence.

On the 30 we saw a head us that part of the coast of Barbary, lying East of Cape Cantyn, and the Bay of Asaphi.

The next day we came to the Ile of Mogador, where rode, at our passing by, a Pinnesse of London called the Mooneshine.

[III. 289.]

Aprill.

ON the first of Aprill we ankored in Santa Cruz rode, where we found two great shippes of London lading in Sugar, of whom we had 2 shipboats to supply the losse of our Shallops.

On the 2 we set sayle from the rode of Santa Cruz, for the Canaries.

On Saturday the 4 we saw Alegranza, the East Ile of the Canaries.

On Sunday the 5 of Aprill we gave chase to a double flyboat, the which, we also the same day fought with, and tooke her, with losse of three of their men slaine, and one hurt.

On Munday the 6 we saw Grand Canarie, and the next day we landed and tooke in fresh water on the Southside thereof.

On the 9 we departed from Grand Canary, and framed our course for Dominica.

The last of Aprill we saw Dominica, and the same night we came to an anker on the Southside thereof.

May.

THe first of May in the morning many of the Salvages came aboord our ships in their Canowes, and did traffique with us; we also the same day landed and entered their Towne from whence we returned the same day aboord without any resistance of the Salvages; or any offence done to them.

The 2 of May our Admirall and our Pinnesse departed from Dominica leaving the John our Vice-admirall playing off and on about Dominica, hoping to take some Spaniard outwardes bound to the Indies; the same night we had sight of three smal Ilands called Los Santos, leaving Guadalupe and them on our starboord.

The 3 we had sight of S. Christophers Iland, bearing Northeast and by East off us.

On the 4 we sayled by the Virgines, which are many broken Ilands, lying at the East ende of S. Johns Iland: and the same day towards evening we landed upon one of them called Blanca, where we killed an incredible number of foules: here we stayed

but three houres, & from thence stood into the shore Northwest, and having brought this Iland Southeast off us, we put towards night thorow an opening or swatch, called The passage, lying betwene the Virgines, and the East end of S. John: here the Pinnesse left us and sayled on the South side of S. John.

The 5 and 6 the Admirall sayled along the North-side of S. John, so neere the shore that the Spaniards discerned us to be men of warre; and therefore made fires along the coast as we sailed by, for so their custome is, when they see any men of warre on their coasts.

The 7 we landed on the Northwest end of S. John, where we watered in a good river called Yaguana, and the same night following we tooke a Frigate of tenne Tunne comming from Gwathanelo laden with hides and ginger. In this place Pedro a Mollato, who knewe all our state, ranne from us to the Spaniards.

On the 9 we departed from Yaguana.

The 13 we landed on an Iland called Mona, whereon were 10 or 12 houses inhabited of the Spaniards; these we burned & took from them a Pinnesse, which they had drawen a ground and sunke, and carried all her sayles, mastes, and rudders into the woods, because we should not take him away; we also chased the Spaniards over all the Iland; but they hid them in caves, hollow rockes, and bushes, so that we could not find them.

On the 14 we departed from Mona, and the next day after wee came to an Iland called Saona, about 5 leagues distant from Mona, lying on the Southside of Hispaniola neere the East end: betweene these two Ilands we lay off and on 4 or 5 dayes, hoping to take some of the Domingo fleete doubling this Iland, as a neerer way to Spaine then by Cape Tyburon, or by Cape S. Anthony.

On Thursday being the 19 our Viceadmirall, from whom we departed at Dominica, came to us at Saona,

with whom we left a Spanish Frigate, and appointed him to lie off and on other five daies betweene Saona and Mona to the ende aforesaid; then we departed from them at Saona for Cape Tyburon. Here I was enformed that our men of the Viceadmirall, at their departure from Dominica brought away two young Salvages, which were the chiefe Casiques sonnes of that Countrey and part of Dominica, but they shortly after ran away from them at Santa Cruz Iland, where the Viceadmirall landed to take in ballast.

On the 21 the Admirall came to the Cape Tyburon, where we found the John Evangelist our Pinnesse staying for us: here we tooke in two Spaniards almost starved on the shore, who made a fire to our ships as we passed by. Those places for an 100 miles in length are nothing els but a desolate and meere [III. 290.] wildernesse, without any habitation of people, and full of wilde Bulles and Bores, and great Serpents.

The 22 our Pinnesse came also to an anker in Aligato Bay at Cape Tyburon. Here we understood of M. Lane, Captaine of the Pinnesse; how he was set upon with one of the kings Gallies belonging to Santo Domingo, which was manned with 400 men, who after he had fought with him 3 or 4 houres, gave over the fight & forsooke him, without any great hurt done on eyther part. *M. William Lane.*

The 26 the John our Vizadmirall came to us to cape Tyburon, and the Frigat which we left with him at Saona. This was the appointed place where we should attend for the meeting with the Santo Domingo Fleete.

On Whitsunday Even at Cape Tyburon one of our boyes ranne away from us, and at ten dayes end returned to our ships almost starved for want of food. In sundry places about this part of Cape Tyburon we found the bones and carkases of divers men, who had perished (as wee thought) by famine in those woods, being either stragled from their company, or landed there by some men of warre.

June.

ON the 14 of June we tooke a smal Spanish frigat which fell amongst us so suddenly, as he doubled the point at the Bay of Cape Tyburon, where we road, so that he could not escape us. This Frigat came from Santo Domingo, and had but 3 men in her, the one was an expert Pilot, the other a Mountainer, and the third a Vintener, who escaped all out of prison at Santo Domingo, purposing to fly to Yaguana which is a towne in the West parts of Hispaniola where many fugitive Spaniards are gathered together.

Spanish fugitives.

The 17 being Wednesday Captaine Lane was sent to Yaguana with his Pinnesse and a Frigat to take a shippe, which was there taking in fraight, as we understood by the old Pylot, whom we had taken three dayes before.

The 24 the Frigat returned from Captaine Lane at Yaguana, and brought us word to cape Tyburon, that Captaine Lane had taken the shippe, with many passengers and Negroes in the same; which proved not so rich a prize as we hoped for, for that a Frenchman of warre had taken and spoyled her before we came. Neverthelesse her loading was thought worth 1000 or 1300 pounds, being hides, ginger, Cannafistula, Copperpannes, and Casavi.

July.

Edward Spicer.

THe second of July Edward Spicer whom we left in England came to us at Cape Tyburon, accompanied with a small Pinnesse, whereof one M. Harps was Captaine. And the same day we had sight of a fleete of 14 saile all of Santo Domingo, to whom we presently gave chase, but they upon the first sight of us fled, and separating themselves scattered here and there: Wherefore we were forced to divide our selves and so made after them untill 12 of the clocke at night.

But then by reason of the darkenesse we lost sight of ech other, yet in the end the Admirall and the Moonelight happened to be together the same night at the fetching up of the Vizadmirall of the Spanish fleete, against whom the next morning we fought and tooke him, with losse of one of our men and two hurt, and of theirs 4 slaine and 6 hurt. But what was become of our Viceadmirall, our Pinnesse, and Prize, and two Frigates, in all this time, we were ignorant.

This fight was in sight of the Iland of Navaza.

The 3 of July we spent about rifling, romaging and fitting the Prize to be sailed with us.

The 6 of July we saw Jamayca the which we left on our larboord, keeping Cuba in sight on our starboord.

Upon the 8 of July we saw the Iland of Pinos, which lieth on the Southside of Cuba nigh unto the West end or Cape called Cape S. Anthony. And the same day we gave chase to a Frigat, but at night we lost sight of her, partly by the slow sayling of our Admirall, & lacke of the Moonelight our Pinnesse, whom Captaine Cooke had sent to the Cape the day before.

On the 11 we came to Cape S. Anthony, where we found our consort the Moonelight and her Pinnesse abiding for our comming, of whom we understood that the day before there passed by them 22 saile, some of them of the burden of 300 and some 400 tunnes loaden with the Kings treasure from the maine, bound for Havana; from this 11 of July untill 22 we were much becalmed: and the winde being very scarse, and the weather exceeding hoat, we were much pestered with the Spaniards we had taken: wherefore we were driven to land all the Spaniards saving three, but the place where we landed them was of their owne choise on the Southside of Cuba neere unto the Organes and Rio de Puercos.

The 23 we had sight of the Cape of Florida, and the broken Ilands therof called the Martires.

The 25 being S. James day in the morning, we fell with the Matanças, a head-land 8 leagues towards the East of Havana, where we purposed to take fresh water in, and make our abode two or three dayes.

On Sunday the 26 of July plying too and fro betweene the Matanças and Havana, we were espied of three small Pinnasses of S. John de Ullua bound for Havana, which were exceeding richly loaden. These 3 Pinnasses came very boldly up unto us, and so continued untill they came within musket shot of us. And we supposed them to be Captaine Harps pinnesse, and two small Frigats taken by Captain Harpe: wherefore we shewed our flag. But they presently upon the sight of it turned about & made all the saile they could from us toward the shore, & kept themselves in so shallow water, that we were not able to follow them, and therefore gave them over with expence of shot & pouder to no purpose. But if we had not so rashly set out our flagge, we might have taken them all three, for they would not have knowen us before they had bene in our hands. This chase brought us so far to leeward as Havana: wherfore not finding any of our consorts at ye Matanças, we put over again to the cape of Florida, & from thence thorow the chanel of Bahama.

On the 28 the Cape of Florida bare West of us.

The state of the currents from the cape of Florida to Virginia.

The 30 we lost sight of the coast of Florida, and stood to Sea for to gaine the helpe of the current which runneth much swifter a farre off then in sight of the coast. For from the Cape to Virginia all along the shore are none but eddie currents, setting to the South and Southwest.

The 31 our three ships were clearely disbocked, the great prize, the Admirall, and the Mooneshine, but our prize being thus disbocked departed from us without taking leave of our Admirall or consort, and sayled directly for England.

August.

ON the first of August the winde scanted, and from thence forward we had very fowle weather with much raine, thundering, and great spouts, which fell round about us nigh unto our ships.

The 3 we stoode againe in for the shore, and at midday we tooke the height of the same. The height of that place we found to be 34 degrees of latitude. Towards night we were within three leagues of the Low sandie Ilands West of Wokokon. But the weather continued so exceeding foule, that we could not come to an anker nye the coast: wherefore we stood off againe to Sea untill Monday the 9 of August.

Sandie Ilands West of Wokokon.

On munday the storme ceased, and we had very great likelihood of faire weather: therefore we stood in againe for the shore: & came to an anker at 11 fadome in 35 degrees of latitude, within a mile of the shore, where we went on land on the narrow sandy Iland, being one of the Ilandes West of Wokokon: in this Iland we tooke in some fresh water and caught great store of fish in the shallow water. Betweene the maine (as we supposed) and that Iland it was but a mile over and three or foure foote deepe in most places.

They land in 35 degrees.

On the 12 in the morning we departed from thence and toward night we came to an anker at the Northeast end of the Iland of Croatoan, by reason of a breach which we perceived to lie out two or three leagues into the Sea: here we road all that night.

A breach 2 or 3 leagues into Sea.

The 13 in the morning before we wayed our ankers, our boates were sent to sound over this breach: our ships riding on the side thereof at 5 fadome; and a ships length from us we found but 4 and a quarter, and then deeping and shallowing for the space of two miles, so that sometimes we found 5 fadome, and by & by 7, and within two casts with the lead 9, & then 8, next cast 5, & then 6, & then 4, & then 9 againe, and deeper; but 3 fadome was the last, 2 leagues off

Great diversity of soundings.

from the shore. This breach is in 35 degr. & a halfe, & lyeth at the very Northeast point of Croatoan, wheras goeth a fret out of the maine Sea into the inner waters, which part the Ilandes and the maine land.

Hatorask in 36 degr. & a terce.

The 15 of August towards Evening we came to an anker at Hatorask, in 36 degr. and one third, in five fadom water, three leagues from the shore. At our first comming to anker on this shore we saw a great smoke rise in the Ile Raonoak neere the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1587, which smoake put us in good hope that some of the Colony were there expecting my returne out of England.

The 16 and next morning our 2 boates went a shore, & Captaine Cooke, & Cap. Spicer, & their company with me, with intent to passe to the place at Raonoak where our countreymen were left. At our putting from the ship we commanded our Master gunner to make readie 2 Minions and a Falkon well loden, and to shoot them off with reasonable space betweene every shot, to the ende that their reportes might bee heard to the place where wee hoped to finde some of our people. This was accordingly performed, & our twoe boats put [III. 292.] off unto the shore, in the Admirals boat we sounded all the way and found from our shippe untill we came within a mile of the shore nine, eight, and seven fadome: but before we were halfe way betweene our ships and the shore we saw another great smoke to the Southwest of Kindrikers mountes: we therefore thought good to goe to that second smoke first: but it was much further *They land.* from the harbour where we landed, then we supposed it to be, so that we were very sore tired before wee came to the smoke. But that which grieved us more was that when we came to the smoke, we found no man nor signe that any had bene there lately, nor yet any fresh water in all this way to drinke. Being thus wearied with this journey we returned to the harbour where we left our boates, who in our absence had brought their caske a shore for fresh water, so we deferred our

going to Roanoak untill the next morning, and caused some of those saylers to digge in those sandie hills for fresh water whereof we found very sufficient. That night wee returned aboord with our boates and our whole company in safety.

Fresh water found in sandy hilles.

The next morning being the 17 of August, our boates and company were prepared againe to goe up to Roanoak, but Captaine Spicer had then sent his boat ashore for fresh water, by meanes whereof it was ten of the clocke aforenoone before we put from our ships which were then come to an anker within two miles of the shore. The Admirals boat was halfe way toward the shore, when Captaine Spicer put off from his ship. The Admirals boat first passed the breach, but not without some danger of sinking, for we had a sea brake into our boat which filled us halfe full of water, but by the will of God and carefull styrage of Captaine Cooke we came safe ashore, saving onely that our furniture, victuals, match and powder were much wet and spoyled. For at this time the winde blue at Northeast and direct into the harbour so great a gale, that the Sea brake extremely on the barre, and the tide went very forcibly at the entrance. By that time our Admirals boate was halled ashore, and most of our things taken out to dry, Captaine Spicer came to the entrance of the breach with his mast standing up, and was halfe passed over, but by the rash and undiscreet styrage of Ralph Skinner his Masters mate, a very dangerous Sea brake into their boate and overset them quite, the men kept the boat some in it, and some hanging on it, but the next sea set the boat on ground, where it beat so, that some of them were forced to let goe their hold, hoping to wade ashore; but the Sea still beat them downe, so that they could neither stand nor swimme, and the boat twise or thrise was turned the keele upward, whereon Captaine Spicer and Skinner hung untill they sunke, & were seene no more. But foure that could swimme a litle kept themselves in deeper water and were saved by Captain Cookes meanes,

Captaine Spicer drowned.

who so soone as he saw their oversetting, stripped himselfe, and foure other that could swimme very well, & with all haste possible rowed unto them, & saved foure. They were a 11 in all, & 7 of the chiefest were drowned, whose names were Edward Spicer, Ralph Skinner, Edward Kelley, Thomas Bevis, Hance the Surgion, Edward Kelborne, Robert Coleman. This mischance did so much discomfort the saylers, that they were all of one mind not to goe any further to seeke the planters. But in the end by the commandement & perswasion of me and Captaine Cooke, they prepared the boates: and seeing the Captaine and me so resolute, they seemed much more willing. Our boates and all things fitted againe, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of 19 persons in both boates: but before we could get to the place, where our planters were left, it was so exceeding darke, that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile: there we espied towards the North end of the Iland ye light of a great fire thorow the woods, to the which we presently rowed: when wee came right over against it, we let fall our Grapnel neere the shore, & sounded with a trumpet a Call, & afterwardes many familiar English tunes of Songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answere, we therefore landed at day-breake, and comming to the fire, we found the grasse & sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went thorow the woods to that part of the Iland directly over against Dasamongwepeuk, & from thence we returned by the water side, round about the North point of the Iland, untill we came to the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1586. In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the Salvages feet of 2 or 3 sorts troaden ye night, and as we entred up the sandy banke upon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiously carved these faire Romane letters C R O: which letters presently we knew to signifie the place, where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon betweene them & me at my last departure

from them, which was, that in any wayes they should not faile to write or carve on the trees or posts of the dores the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my comming away they were prepared to remove from Roanoak 50 miles into the maine. Therefore at my departure from them in An. 1587 I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carve over the letters or name, a Crosse ✠ in this forme, but we found no such signe of distresse. And having well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in [III. 293.] sundry houses, but we found the houses taken downe, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fort-like, and one of the chiefe trees or postes at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and 5 foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was graven CROATOAN without any crosse or signe of distresse; this done, we entred into the palisado, where we found many barres of Iron, two pigges of Lead, foure yron fowlers, Iron sacker-shotte, and such like heavie things, throwen here and there, almost overgrowen with grasse and weedes. From thence wee went along by the water side, towards the poynt of the Creeke to see if we could find any of their botes or Pinnisse, but we could perceive no signe of them, nor any of the last Falkons and small Ordinance which were left with them, at my departure from them. At our returne from the Creeke, some of our Saylers meeting us, tolde us that they had found where divers chests had bene hidden, and long sithence digged up againe and broken up, and much of the goods in them spoyled and scattered about, but nothing left, of such things as the Savages knew any use of, undefaced. Presently Captaine Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the ende of an olde trench, made two yeeres past by Captaine Amadas: wheere wee found five Chests, that had bene carefully hidden of the Planters, and of the same chests three were my owne, and about the place

many of my things spoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and my armour almost eaten through with rust; this could bee no other but the deede of the Savages our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and assoone as they were departed, digged up every place where they suspected any thing to be buried: but although it much grieved me to see such spoyle of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certaine token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Savages of the Iland our friends.

When we had seene in this place so much as we could, we returned to our Boates, and departed from the shoare towards our Shippes, with as much speede as wee could: For the weather beganne to overcast, and very likely that a foule and stormie night would ensue. Therefore the same Evening with much danger and labour, we got our selves aboard, by which time the winde and seas were so greatly risen, that wee doubted our Cables and Anchors would scarcely holde untill Morning: wherefore the Captaine caused the Boate to be manned with five lusty men, who could swimme all well, and sent them to the little Iland on the right hand of the Harbour, to bring aboard sixe of our men, who had filled our caske with fresh water: the Boate the same night returned aboard with our men, but all our Caske ready filled they left behinde, unpossible to bee had aboard without danger of casting away both men and Boates: for this night prooved very stormie and foule.

The next Morning it was agreed by the Captaine and my selfe, with the Master and others, to wey anchor, and goe for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were: for that then the winde was good for that place, and also to leave that Caske with fresh water on shoare in the Iland untill our returne. So then they brought

the cable to the Capston, but when the anchor was almost apecke, the Cable broke, by meanes whereof we lost another Anchor, wherewith we drove so fast into the shoare, that wee were forced to let fall a third Anchor: which came so fast home that the Shippe was almost aground by Kenricks mounts: so that wee were forced to let slippe the Cable ende for ende. And if it had not chanced that wee had fallen into a chanell of deeper water, closer by the shoare then wee accompted of, wee could never have gone cleare of the poynt that lyeth to the Southwardes of Kenricks mounts. Being thus cleare of some dangers, and gotten into deeper waters, but not without some losse: for wee had but one Cable and Anchor left us of foure, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler; our victuals scarse, and our caske and fresh water lost: it was therefore determined that we should goe for Saint John or some other Iland to the Southward for fresh water. And it was further purposed, that if wee could any wayes supply our wants of victuals and other necessaries, either at Hispaniola, Sant John, or Trynidad, that then wee should continue in the Indies all the Winter following, with hope to make 2. rich voyages of one, and at our returne to visit our countreymen at Virginia. The captaine and the whole company in the Admirall (with my earnest petitions) thereunto agreed, so that it rested onely to knowe what the Master of the Moone-light our consort would doe herein. But when we demanded them if they would accompany us in that new determination, they alledged that their weake and leake Shippe was not able to continue it; wherefore the same night we parted, leaving the Moone-light to goe directly for England, and the Admirall set his course for Trynidad, which course we kept two dayes.

They leave the coast of Virginia.

On the 28. the winde changed, and it was sette on foule weather every way: but this storme brought the winde West and Northwest, and blewe so forcibly, that wee were able to beare no sayle, but our fore-course [III. 294.]

halfe mast high, wherewith wee ranne upon the winde perforce, the due course for England, for that wee were driven to change our first determination for Trynidad, and stoode for the Ilands of Açores, where wee purposed to take in fresh water, and also there hoped to meete with some English men of warre about those Ilands, at whose hands wee might obtaine some supply of our wants. And thus continuing our course for the Açores, sometimes with calmes, and sometimes with very scarce windes, on the fifteenth of September the winde came South Southeast, and blew so exceedingly, that wee were forced to lye atry all that day. At this time by account we judged our selves to be about twentie leagues to the West of Cuervo and Flores, but about night the storme ceased, and fayre weather ensued.

On Thursday the seventeenth wee saw Cuervo and Flores, but we could not come to anker that night, by reason the winde shifted. The next Morning being the eighteenth, standing in againe with Cuervo, we escryed a sayle ahead us, to whom we gave chase: but when wee came neere him, we knew him to be a Spanyard, and hoped to make sure purchase of him: but we understood at our speaking with him, that he was a prize, and of the Domingo fleete already taken by the John our consort, in the Indies. We learned also of this prize, that our Viceadmirall and Pinnesse had fought with the rest of the Domingo fleete, and had forced them with their Admirall to flee unto Jamaica under the Fort for succour, and some of them ran themselves aground, whereof one of them they brought away, and tooke out of some others so much as the time would permit. And further wee understood of them, that in their returne from Jamaica about the Organes neere Cape Saint Anthony, our Viceadmirall mette with two Shippes of the mayne land, come from Mexico, bound for Havana, with whom he fought: in which fight our Viceadmirals Lieutenant was slaine,

and the Captaines right arme strooken off, with foure other of his men slaine, and sixteene hurt. But in the ende he entred, and tooke one of the Spanish shippes, which was so sore shot by us under water, that before they could take out her treasure she sunke; so that we lost thirteene Pipes of silver which sunke with her, besides much other rich marchandize. And in the meane time the other Spanish shippe being pearced with nine shotte under water, got away; whom our Viceadmirall intended to pursue: but some of their men in the toppe made certaine rockes, which they saw above water neere the shoare, to be Gallies of Havana and Cartagena, comming from Havana to rescue the two Ships; Wherefore they gave over their chase, and went for England. After this intelligence was given us by this our prize, he departed from us, and went for England.

13. *Pipes of silver.*

On Saturday the 19. of September we came to an Ancre neere a small village on the North side of Flores, where we found ryding 5. English men of warre, of whom wee understood that our Viceadmirall and Prize were gone thence for England. One of these five was the Moonelight our consort, who upon the first sight of our comming into Flores, set sayle and went for England, not taking any leave of us.

On Sunday the 20. the Mary Rose, Admirall of the Queenes fleete, wherein was Generall Sir John Hawkins, stood in with Flores, and divers other of the Queenes ships, namely the Hope, the Nonpareilia, the Rainebow, the Swift-sure, the Foresight, with many other good merchants ships of warre, as the Edward Bonaventure, the Marchant Royal, the Amitie, the Eagle, the Dainty of sir John Hawkins, and many other good ships and pinnesses, all attending to meete with the king of Spaines fleete, comming from Terra firma of the West Indies.

The 22. of September we went aboard the Rayne-bow, and towards night we spake with the Swift-sure, and gave him 3. pieces. The captaines desired our

company; wherefore we willingly attended on them: who at this time with 10. other ships stood for Faial. But the Generall with the rest of the Fleete were separated from us, making two fleetes, for the surer meeting with the Spanish fleete.

On Wednesday the 23. we saw Gratiosa, where the Admiral and the rest of the Queens fleete were come together. The Admirall put forth a flag of counsel, in which was determined that the whole fleete should go for the mayne, and spred themselves on the coasts of Spaine and Portugal, so farre as conveniently they might, for the surer meeting of the Spanish fleete in those parts.

The 26. we came to Faial, where the Admiral with some other of the fleete ankred, othersome plyed up and downe betweene that and the Pico untill midnight, at which time the Antony shot off a piece and weyed, shewing his light: after whom the whole fleete stood to the East, the winde at Northeast by East.

On Sunday the 27. towards Evening wee tooke our [III. 295.] leave of the Admirall and the whole fleete, who stood to the East. But our shippe accompanied with a Flyboate stoode in againe with S. George, where we purposed to take in more fresh water, and some other fresh victuals.

On Wednesday the 30. of September, seeing the winde hang so Northerly, that wee could not atteine the Iland of S. George, we gave over our purpose to water there, and the next day framed our due course for England.

October.

THe 2. of October in the Morning we saw S. Michaels Iland on our Starre board quarter.

The 23. at 10. of the clocke afore noone, we saw Ushant in Britaigne.

On Saturday the 24. we came in safetie, God be thanked, to an anker at Plymmouth.

Certaine Voyages to Florida, and the later and more perfect Discoveries thereof, to wit, of all the Seacoasts, Rivers, Bayes, Havens, Isles, and Maine Landes farre up into the Countrey, and a Report of some Colonies and Fortes there planted and displanted, with a Description of the Government, Disposition and Qualitie of the Naturall Inhabitants, and a Declaration of the Temperature of the Climate, and of the manifolde good Commodities found in those Regions.

To the most Christian King of France, Francis the first.

The relation of John de Verrazzano a Florentine, of the land by him discovered in the name of his Majestie. Written in Diepe the eight of July, 1524.

Wrote not to your Majesty, most Christian king, since the time we suffered the tempest in the North partes, of the successe of the foure Shippes, which your Majestie sent forth to discover new lands by the Ocean, thinking your Majestie had bene already duely enformed thereof. Now by these presents I will give your Majestie to understand, how by the violence of the windes we were forced with the two ships, the Norman and the Dolphin (in such evill case as they were) to land in Britaine. Where after wee had repayred them in all poynts as was needefull, and armed them very well, we tooke our course along by the coast of Spaine, which your Majestie shall understand by the profite that we received thereby. Afterwards with the Dolphin alone we determined to make dis-

coverie of new Countries, to prosecute the navigation we had already begun, which I purpose at this present to recount unto your Majestie to make manifest the whole proceeding of the matter.

The Isle of Madêra.

The 17. of January the yeere 1524. by the grace of God we departed from the dishabited rocke by the isle of Madêra, apperteining to the king of Portugal, with 50. men, with victuals, weapons, and other shipmunition very well provided & furnished for 8. moneths: And sayling Westwards with a faire Easterly winde, in 25. dayes we ran 500. leagues, and the 20. of Februarie we were overtaken with as sharpe and terrible a tempest as ever any saylers suffered: whereof with the divine helpe and mercifull assistance of Almighty God, and the goodnesse of our shippe, accompanied with the good happe of her fortunate name, we were delivered, and with a prosperous winde followed our course West and by North. And in other 25. dayes we made above 400. leagues more, where we discovered a new land, never before seene of any man either ancient or moderne, and at the first sight it seemed somewhat low, but being within a quarter of a league of it, we perceived by the great fires that we saw by the Sea coast, that it was inhabited: and saw that the lande stretched to the Southwards. In seeking some convenient Harborough wherein to anchor and to have knowledge of the place, we sayled fiftie leagues in vaine, and seeing the land to runne still to the Southwards, we resolved to returne backe againe towards the North, where wee found our selves troubled with the like difficultie. At length being in despaire to finde any Port, wee cast anchor upon the coast, and sent our Boate to shore, where we saw great store of people which came to the Sea side; and seeing us approch, they fled away, and sometimes would stand still and looke backe, beholding us with great admiration: but afterwards being animated and assured with signes that we made them, some of them came hard to the Sea

They discover land.

[III. 296.]

side, seeming to rejoyce very much at the sight of us, and marveiling greatly at our apparel, shape and whitenesse, shewed us by sundry signes where we might most commodiously come aland with our Boat, offering us also of their victuals to eate. Now I wil briefly declare to your Majestie their life and maners, as farre as we could have notice thereof: These people goe altogether naked, except only that they cover their privie parts with certaine skins of beasts like unto Marterns, which they fasten unto a narrow girdle made of grasse very artificially wrought, hanged about with tayles of divers other beastes, which round about their bodies hang dangling downe to their knees. Some of them weare garlands of byrdes feathers. The people are of colour russet, and not much unlike the Saracens: their hayre blacke, thicke and not very long, which they tye together in a knot behind and weare it like a litle taile. They are well featured in their limbes, of meane stature, and commonly somewhat bigger then we: broad breasted, strong armed, their legs and other parts of their bodies well fashioned, and they are disfigured in nothing, saving that they have somewhat broade visages, and yet not all of them: for we saw many of them wel favoured, having blacke and great eyes, with a cheerefull and steady looke, not strong of body, yet sharpe witted, nymble and exceeding great runners, as farre as we could learne by experience, and in those two last qualities they are like to the people of the East partes of the world, and especially to them of the uttermost parts of China. We could not learne of this people their maner of living, nor their particular customs, by reason of the short abode we made on the shore, our company being but small, and our ship ryding farre off in the Sea. And not farre from these wee found another people, whose living wee thinke to be like unto theirs; (as hereafter I wil declare unto your Majestie) shewing at this present the situation and nature of the foresayd land. The shoare

is all covered with small sand, and so ascendeth upwards for the space of 15. foote, rising in forme of litle hils about 50. paces broad. And sayling forwards, we found certaine small Rivers and armes of the Sea, that fall downe by certaine creekes, washing the shoare on both sides as the coast lyeth. And beyond this we saw the open Countrey rising in height above the sandie shoare with many faire fields and plaines, full of mightie great woods, some very thicke, and some thinne, replenished with divers sorts of trees, as pleasant and delectable to behold, as is possible to imagine. And your Majesty may not thinke that these are like the woods of Hercynia or the wilde deserts of Tartary, and the Northerne coasts full of fruitlesse trees: But they are full of Palme trees, Bay trees, and high Cypresse trees, and many other sortes of trees unknowen in Europe, which yeeld most sweete savours farre from the shoare, the propertie whereof we could not learne for the cause aforesaid, and not for any difficulty to passe through the woods, seeing they are not so thicke but that a man may passe through them. Neither doe we thinke that they partaking of the East world round about them, are altogether voyd of drugs or spicery, and other riches of golde, seeing the colour of the land doth so much argue it. And the land is full of many beastes, as Stags, Deere and Hares, and likewise of Lakes and Pooles of fresh water, with great plentie of Fowles, convenient for all kinde of pleasant game. This land is in latitude 34. degrees, with good and wholesome ayre, temperate, betweene hot and colde, no vehement windes doe blowe in those Regions, and those that doe commonly reigne in those coasts, are the Northwest and West windes in the summer season, (in the beginning whereof we were there) the skie cleere and faire with very litle raine: and if at any time the ayre be cloudie and mistie with the Southerne winde, immediatly it is dissolved and waxeth cleere and fayre againe. The Sea is calme, not

34. *Degrees.*

boysterous, the waves gentle: and although all the shore be somewhat sholde and without harborough, yet is it not dangerous to the saylers, being free from rocks and deepe, so that within 4 or 5. foote of the shore, there is 20. foote deepe of water without ebbe or flood, the depth still increasing in such uniforme proportion. There is very good ryding at Sea: for any ship being shaken in a tempest, can never perish there by breaking of her cables, which we have proved by experience. For in the beginning of March (as it is usuall in all regions) being in the Sea oppressed with Northerne windes, and ryding there, wee found our anchor broken before the earth fayled or mooved at all. We departed from this place, stil running along the coast, which we found to trend toward the East, & we saw every where very great fires, by reason of the multitude of the inhabitants. While we rode on that coast, partly because it had no harborough, and for that we wanted water, we sent our boat ashoare with 25. men: where by reason of great and continuall waves that beat against the shoare, being an open Coast, without succour, none of our men could possibly goe ashoare without loosing our boate. Wee saw there many people which came unto the shoare, making divers signes of friendship, and shewing that they were content we should come aland, and by trial we found them to be very courteous and gentle, as your Majestie shal understand by the successe. To the intent we might send them of our things, which the Indians commonly desire and esteeme, as sheetes of paper, glasses, bels, and such like trifles; we sent a young man one of our Mariners ashoare, who swimming towards them, & being within 3. or 4. yards of the shore, not trusting them, cast the things upon the shoare: but seeking afterwards to returne, he was with such violence of the waves beaten upon the shore, that he was so bruised that he lay there almost dead: which the Indians perceiving, ranne to catch him, and drawing him out, they

The coast trendeth to the East in 34. degrees of latitude.

Courteous and gentle people.

[III. 297.]

caried him a litle way off from the sea. The yong man perceiving they caried him, being at the first dismaied, began then greatly to feare, and cried out piteously: likewise did the Indians which did accompany him, going about to cheere him and to give him courage, and then setting him on the ground at the foote of a litle hil against the sunne, they began to behold him with great admiration, marveiling at the whitenesse of his flesh: And putting off his clothes, they made him warme at a great fire, not without our great feare which remayned in the boate, that they would have rosted him at that fire, and have eaten him. The young man having recovered his strength, and having stayed a while with them, shewed them by signes that he was desirous to returne to the ship: and they with great love clapping him fast about with many imbracings, accompanying him unto the sea, and to put him in more assurance, leaving him alone, went unto a high ground and stood there, beholding him untill he was entred into the boate. This yong man observed, as we did also, that these are of colour inclining to Blacke as the other were, with their flesh very shining, of meane stature, handsome visage, and delicate limmes, and of very litle strength, but of prompt wit: farther we observed not.

They run 50 leagues farther.

Departing from hence, following the shore which trended somewhat toward the North, in 50. leagues space we came to another land which shewed much more faire and ful of woods, being very great, where we rode at anker: and that we might have some knowledge thereof, wee sent 20. men aland, which entred into the countrey about 2. leagues, and they found that the people were fled to the woods for feare. They saw onely one olde woman with a young maide of 18. or 20. yeeres olde, which seeing our company, hid themselves in the grasse for feare: the olde woman caried two Infants on her shoulders, and behind her necke a child of 8. yeeres olde. The young woman was laden

likewise with as many: but when our men came unto them, the women cried out: the olde woman made signes that the men were fledde unto the woods. Assoone as they saw us to quiet them and to winne their favour, our men gave them such victuals as they had with them, to eate, which the old woman received thankfully: but the yong woman disdained them all, & threw them disdainfully on the ground. They tooke a child from the olde woman to bring into France, and going about to take the yong woman which was very beautiful and of tall stature, they could not possibly, for the great outcries that she made, bring her to the sea: and especially having great woods to passe thorow, and being farre from the ship, we purposed to leave her behind, bearing away the child onely. We found those folkes to be more white then those that we found before, being clad with certaine leaves that hang on boughs of trees, which they sewe together with threds of wilde hempe: their heads were trussed up after the same maner as the former were: their ordinary foode is of pulse, whereof they have great store, differing in colour and taste from ours; of good and pleasant taste. Moreover they live by fishing and fowling, which they take with ginnes, and bowes made of hard wood, the arrowes of Canes, being headed with the bones of fish, & other beasts. The beasts in these parts are much wilder then in our Europe, by reason they are continually chased and hunted. We saw many of their boats made of one tree 20. foote long, and 4. foote broad, which are not made with yron or stone, or any other kind of metall (because that in all this countrey for the space of 200. leagues which we ranne, we never saw one stone of any sort:) they helpe themselves with fire, burning so much of the tree as is sufficient for the hollownesse of the boat; the like they doe in making the sterne & the forepart, untill it be fit to saile upon the sea. The land is in situation goodnes and fairenesse like the other: it hath woods

Wilde Hempe.

They ran along the coast 200. leagues.

They make hollow their Canoas with fire.

like the other, thinne and full of divers sorts of trees: but not so sweete, because the country is more Northerly and colde.

Vines like those of Lombardie.

We saw in this Countrey many Vines growing naturally, which growing up, tooke holde of the trees as they doe in Lombardie, which if by husbandmen they were dressed in good order, without all doubt they would yeeld excellent wines: for having oftentimes seene the fruit thereof dryed, which was sweete and pleasant, and not differing from ours, wee thinke that they doe esteeme the same, because that in every place where they growe, they take away the under branches growing round about, that the fruit thereof may ripen the better.

We found also roses, violets, lilies, and many sorts of herbes, and sweete and odoriferous flowers different from ours. We knewe not their dwellings, because they were farre up in the land, and we judge by many signes that we saw, that they are of wood & of trees framed together.

[III. 298.] We doe beleeve also by many conjectures and signes, that many of them sleeping in the fields, have no other covert then the open sky. Further knowledge have we not of them: we thinke that all the rest whose countreys we passed, live all after one maner. Having made our aboade three dayes in this country, and ryding on the coast for want of harboroughs, we concluded to depart from thence, trending along the shore betweene the North and the East, sayling onely in the day-time, and riding at anker by night. In the space of 100. leagues sayling we found a very pleasant place situated amongst certaine litle steepe hils: from amidst the which hils there ran downe into the sea an exceeding great streme of water, which w^t^in the mouth was very deepe, & from the sea to the mouth of the same with ye tide which we found to rise 8. foote, any great ship laden may passe up.

100 Leagues sayling.

A mighty river.

But because we rode at anker in a place well fenced

from the wind, we would not venture our selves without knowledge of the place: and we passed up with our boat onely into the sayd River, and saw the countrey very well peopled. The people are almost like unto the others, and are clad with the feathers of fowles of divers colours: they came towards us very cheerefully, making great showts of admiration; shewing us where we might come to land most safely with our boat. We entred up the said river into the land about halfe a league, where it made a most pleasant lake about 3. leagues in compasse: on the which they rowed from the one side to the other to the number of 30. of their small boats, wherein were many people which passed from one shore to the other to come and see us. And behold upon the sudden (as it is woont to fall out in sayling) a contrary flaw of wind comming from the sea, we were inforced to returne to our ship, leaving this lande to our great discontentment, for the great commodity and pleasantnesse thereof, which we suppose is not without some riches, all the hils shewing minerall matters in them. We weyed anker, and sayled toward the East, for so the coast trended, and so alwayes for 50. leagues being in the sight thereof, we discovered an Iland in forme of a triangle, distant from the maine land 10. leagues, about the bignesse of the Iland of the Rhodes: it was full of hils covered with trees, well peopled, for we saw fires all along the coast: wee gave it the name of your Majesties mother, not staying there by reason of the weather being contrary.

People clad with feathers of divers colours.

The pleasantness and riches of the land.

The coast trendeth to the East.

The description of Claudia Iland, tenne leagues from the mayne.

Claudia was mother of king Francis.

And we came to another land being 15. leagues distant from the Iland, where we found a passing good haven, wherein being entred, we found about 20. small boats of the people, which with divers cries and wondrings came about our ship, comming no neerer then 50. paces towards us: they stayed and beheld the artificialnesse of our ship, our shape & apparel: then they all made a loud showt together,

A passing good haven.

declaring that they rejoyced. When we had something animated them, using their gestures, they came so neere us, that we cast them certaine bels and glasses, and many toyes, which when they had received, they looked on them with laughing, and came without feare aboard our ship. There were amongst these people 2. kings of so goodly stature and shape as is possible to declare: the eldest was about 40. yeeres of age, the second was a yong man of 20. yeeres olde. Their apparell was on this maner: the elder had upon his naked body a Harts skin wrought artificially with divers branches like damaske: his head was bare with the hayre tyed up behind with divers knots: about his necke he had a large chaine, garnished with divers stones of sundry colours: the yong man was almost apparelled after ye same maner. This is the goodliest people, & of the fairest conditions that we have found in this our voyage. They exceed us in bignes: they are of the colour of brasse, some of them incline more to whitenesse: others are of yellow colour, of comely visage, with long and blacke haire, which they are very careful to trim and decke up: they are blacke and quicke eyed, and of sweete and pleasant countenance, imitating much the old fashion. I write not to your Majestie of the other parts of their body, having al such proportion as apperteineth to any handsome man. The women are of the like conformitie and beautie: very handsome and well favoured, of pleasant countenance, and comely to behold: they are as wel manered and continent as any women, and of good education: they are all naked save their privy partes, which they cover with a Deeres skin branched or embrodered as the men use: there are also of them which weare on their armes very rich skinnes of Luzernes: they adorne their heads with divers ornaments made of their owne haire, which hang downe before on both sides their brestes: others use other kinde of dressing themselves like unto

the women of Egypt and Syria, these are of the elder sort: and when they are maried, they weare divers toyes, according to the usage of the people of the East, aswell men as women.

Among whom we saw many plates of wrought copper, which they esteeme more then golde, which for the colour they make no account of, for that among all other it is counted the basest: they make most account of Azure and Red. The things that they esteeme most of all those which we gave them, were bels, christal of Azure colour, and other toyes to hang at their eares or about their necke. They did not desire cloth of silke or of golde, much lesse of any other sort, neither cared they for things made of steele and yron, which wee often shewed them in our armour which they made no wonder at, and in beholding them they onely asked the arte of making them: the like they did at our glasses, which when they beheld, they suddenly laught and gave them us againe. They are very liberall, for they give that which they have: wee became great friends with these, and one day we entred into the Haven with our ship, whereas before we rode a league off at Sea by reason of the contrary weather. They came in great companies of their small boats unto the ship with their faces all bepainted with divers colours, shewing us that it was a signe of joy, bringing us of their victuals, they made signes unto us where we might safest ride in the Haven for the safegard of our ship keeping still our company: and after we were come to an anker, wee bestowed 15 dayes in providing our selves many necessary things, whither every day the people repaired to see our ship bringing their wives with them, whereof they were very jelous: and they themselves entring abord the ship & staying there a good space, caused their wives to stay in their boats, and for all the intreatie we could make, offring to give them divers things, we could never obtaine that

Copper more esteemed then golde.

[III. 299.]

they would suffer them to come abord our ship. And oftentimes one of the two kings comming with his queene, and many gentlemen for their pleasure to see us, they all stayed on the shore 200 paces from us, sending a small boat to give us intelligence of their comming, saying they would come to see our ship: this they did in token of safety, and assoone as they had answere from us, they came immediatly, and having staied a while to behold it, they wondred at hearing the cries and noyses of the mariners. The queene and her maids stayed in a very light boat, at an Iland a quarter of a league off, while the king abode a long space in our ship uttering divers conceits with gestures, viewing with great admiration all the furniture of the ship, demanding the property of every thing particularly. He tooke likewise great pleasure in beholding our apparell, and in tasting our meats, & so courteously taking his leave departed. And sometimes our men staying 2 or 3 daies on a litle Iland neere the ship for divers necessaries (as it is the use of seamen) he returned with 7 or 8 of his gentlemen to see what we did, & asked of us oftentimes if we meant to make any long abode there, offring us of their provision: then the king drawing his bow and running up and down with his gentlemen, made much sport to gratifie our men: we were oftentimes within the land 5 or 6 leagues, which we found as pleasant as is possible to declare, very apt for any kind of husbandry of corne, wine and oyle: for that there are plaines 25 or 30 leagues broad, open and without any impediment, of trees of such fruitfulnesse, that any seed being sowen therein, wil bring forth most excellent fruit. We entred afterwards into the woods, which we found so great and thicke, that any army were it never so great might have hid it selfe therein, the trees whereof are okes, cipresse trees, and other sortes unknowen in Europe. We found Pomi appii, damson trees, and nut trees, and

Most pleasant and fruitful lands.

many other sorts of fruit differing from ours: there are beasts in great abundance, as harts, deere, luzerns, & other kinds which they take with their nets & bowes which are their chiefe weapons: the arrowes which they use are made with great cunning, and in stead of yron, they head them with flint, with jasper stone & hard marble & other sharp stones which they use in stead of yron to cut trees, & to make their boates of one whole piece of wood, making it hollow with great and wonderful art, wherein 10. or 12. men may sit commodiously: their oares are short and broad at the end, and they use them in the sea without any danger, and by maine force of armes, with as great speedines as they list themselves. We saw their houses made in circular or round forme 10 or 12 paces in compasse, made with halfe circles of timber, separate one from another without any order of building, covered with mattes of straw wrought cunningly together, which save them from the wind and raine: and if they had the order of building and perfect skil of workmanship as we have, there were no doubt but that they would also make eftsoones great & stately buildings. For all the sea coasts are ful of cleare and glistering stones, & alablaster, and therefore it is full of good havens and harboroughs for ships. They moove the foresaid houses from one place to another according to the commodity of the place & season wherin they wil make their abode, and only taking off the mattes, they have other houses builded incontinent. The father and the whole family dwell together in one house in great number: in some of them we saw 25 or 30 persons. They feed as the other doe aforesaid of pulse which grow in that Countrey with better order of husbandry then in the others. They observe in their sowing the course of the Moone and the rising of certaine starres, and divers other customes spoken of by antiquity. Moreover they live by

The fashion of their houses.

The coast full of good havens.

hunting and fishing. They live long, & are seldome sicke, and if they chance to fall sicke at any time, they heale themselves with fire without any phisitian, and they say that they die for very age. They are very pitifull and charitable towards their neighbours, they make great lamentations in their adversitie: and in their miserie, the kinred reckon up all their felicitie. At their departure out of life, they use mourning mixt with singing, which continueth for a long space. This is asmuch as we could learne of them. This land is situated in the Paralele of Rome, in 41. degrees and 2 terces: but somewhat more colde by accidentall causes and not of nature, (as I will declare unto your highnesse elsewhere) describing at this present the situation of the foresaid Countrey, which lieth East and West, I say that the mouth of the Haven lieth open to the South halfe a league broad, and being entred within it betweene the East and the North, it stretcheth twelve leagues: where it waxeth broader and broader, and maketh a gulfe about 20. leagues in compasse, wherein are five small Islands very fruitfull and pleasant, full of hie and broade trees, among the which Islandes any great Navie may ride safe without any feare of tempest or other danger. Afterwards turning towardes the South in the entring into the Haven on both sides there are most pleasant hils, with many rivers of most cleare water falling into the Sea.

Their curing with Tobacco and perfumes.

[III. 300.]

41. degrees & 2. tierces.

The description of a notable haven in 41. deg. and 2. tierces.

In the middest of this entrance there is a rocke of free stone growing by nature apt to build any Castle or Fortresse there, for the keeping of the haven. The fift of May being furnished with all things necessarie, we departed from the said coast keeping along in the sight thereof, and wee sailed 150. leagues finding it alwayes after one maner: but the land somewhat higher with certaine mountaines, all which beare a shew of minerall matter, wee sought not to land there in any place, because the weather served our turne for sailing: but wee suppose that it was like the former, the coast

150 leagues.

A shew of minerall.

A.D. 1524.

ranne Eastward for the space of fiftie leagues. And trending afterwards to the North, we found another land high full of thicke woods, the trees whereof were firres, cipresses and such like as are wont to grow in cold Countreys. The people differ much from the other, and looke how much the former seemed to be courteous and gentle: so much were these full of rudenesse and ill maners, and so barbarous that by no signes that ever we could make, we could have any kind of traffike with them. They cloth themselves with Beares skinnes and Luzernes and Seales and other beasts skinnes. Their food, as farre as we coulde perceive, repairing often unto their dwellings, we suppose to be by hunting & fishing, and of certaine fruits, which are a kind of roots which the earth yeeldeth of her own accord. They have no graine, neither saw we any kind or signe of tillage, neither is the land, for the barrennesse thereof, apt to beare fruit or seed. If at any time we desired by exchange to have any of their commodities, they used to come to the sea shore upon certaine craggy rocks, and we standing in our boats, they let downe with a rope what it pleased them to give us, crying continually that we should not approch to the land, demanding immediatly the exchange, taking nothing but knives, fishookes, and tooles to cut withall, neyther did they make any account of our courtesie. And when we had nothing left to exchange with them, when we departed from them, the people shewed all signes of discourtesie and disdaine, as were possible for any creature to invent. We were in despight of them 2 or 3 leagues within the land, being in number 25 armed men of us: And when we went on shore they shot at us with their bowes making great outcries, and afterwards fled into the woods. We found not in this land any thing notable, or of importance, saving very great woods and certaine hilles, they may have some minerall matter in them, because wee saw many of them have beadstones of Copper hanging at their eares. We

The coast running Eastward 50. leagues.

Here the people begin to be more savage.

Beades of copper.

departed from thence keeping our course Northeast along the coast, which we found more pleasant champion and without woods, with high mountaines within the land continuing directly along the coast for the space of fiftie leagues, we discovered 32 Islands lying al neere the land, being small and pleasant to the view, high and having many turnings and windings betweene them, making many faire harboroughs and chanels as they doe in the gulfe of Venice in Sclavonia, and Dalmatia, we had no knowledge or acquaintance with the people: we suppose they are of the same maners and nature as the others are. Sayling Northeast for the space of 150. leagues we approched to the land that in times past was discovered by the Britons, which is in fiftie degrees. Having now spent all our provision and victuals, and having discovered about 700 leagues and more of new Countreys, and being furnished with water and wood, we concluded to returne into France.

32 pleasant Islands.

They ran almost to 50. degrees.

Touching the religion of this people, which wee have found, for want of their language wee could not understand neither by signes nor gesture that they had any religion or lawe at all, or that they did acknowledge any first cause or moover, neither that they worship the heaven or stars the Sunne or Moone or other planets, and much lesse whither they be idolaters, neither could wee learne whither that they used any kind of sacrifices or other adorations, neither in their villages have they any Temples or houses of prayer. We suppose that they have no religion at all, and that they live at their owne libertie. And that all this proceedeth of ignorance, for that they are very easie to be perswaded: and all that they see us Christians doe in our divine service, they did the same with the like imitation as they saw us to doe it.

A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certaine French Captaines into Florida: Wherein the great riches and fruitefulnesse of the Countrey with the maners of the people hitherto concealed are brought to light, written all, saving the last, by Monsieur Laudonniere, who remained there himselfe as the French Kings Lieutenant a yeere and a quarter: [III. 301.]

Translated out of French into English by M. Richard Hakluyt.

To the right honourable Sir Walter Ralegh Knight, Captaine of her Majesties Gard, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the County of Cornewall, R. H. wisheth true felicite.

SIr, after that this historie, which had bene concealed many yeeres, was lately committed to print and published in France under your Name by my learned friend M. Martine Basanier of Paris, I was easily enduced to turne it into English, understanding that the same was no lesse gratefull to you here, then I know it to be acceptable to many great and worthie persons there. And no marvaile though it were very welcome unto you, and that you liked of the translation thereof, since no history hitherto set forth hath more affinitie, resemblance or conformitie with yours of Virginia, then this of Florida. But calling to minde that you had spent more yeeres in France then I, and understand the French better then my selfe, I forthwith perceived that you approoved mine endevour, not for any private ease or commoditie that thereby might redound unto you,

but that it argued a singular and especiall care you had of those which are to be employed in your owne like enterprise, whom, by the reading of this my translation, you would have forewarned and admonished aswell to beware of the gross negligence in providing of sufficiency of victuals, the securitie, disorders, and mutinies that fell out among the French, with the great inconveniences that thereupon ensued, that by others mishaps they might learne to prevent and avoyde the like, as also might be put in minde, by the reading of the manifolde commodities and great fertilitie of the places herein at large described and so neere neighbours unto our Colonies, that they might generally bee awaked and stirred up unto the diligent observation of every thing that might turne to the advancement of the action, wherinto they are so cheerefully entred. Many speciall poynts concerning the commodities of these partes, the accidents of the French mens government therein, the causes of their good or bad successe, with the occasions of the abandoning one of their forts, and the surprise of the other by the enemie are herein truely and faithfully recorded: Which because they be quoted by me in the margents, and reduced into a large alphabeticall table, which I have annexed to the ende of the worke, it shall be needlesse to recken up againe. And that the rather, because the same with divers other things of chiefest importance are lively drawne in colours at your no smal charges by the skillfull painter James Morgues, sometime living in the Black-fryers in London (whom Monsieur Chastillion then Admirall of France sent thither with Laudonniere for that purpose) which was an eye-witnesse of the goodnesse and fertility of those regions, and hath put downe in writing many singularities which are not mentioned in this treatise: which since he hath published together with the purtraitures. These foure voyages I knew not to whom I might better offer then to your selfe, and that for divers just considerations. First, for that as I have sayd before, they were dedicated

Other mens misfortune ought to be our warning.

The chiefe things worthie observation in Florida are drawen in colours by James Morgues painter sometime living in the Black fryers in London.

unto you in French: secondly because now foure times also you have attempted the like upon the selfe same coast neere adjoyning: thirdly in that you have persed as farre up into the maine and discovered no lesse secrets in the partes of your aboad, then the French did in the places of their inhabiting lastly considering you are now also ready (upon the late returne of Captaine Stafford and good newes which he brought you of the safe arrival of your last Colony in their wished haven) to prosecute this action more throughly then ever. And here to speake somewhat of this your enterprise, I affirme, that if the same may speedily and effectually be pursued, it will proove farre more beneficiall in divers respects unto this our realme, then the world, yea many of the wiser sort, have hitherto imagined. The particular commodities whereof are wel knowen unto your selfe and some few others, and are faithfully and with great judgement committed to writing, as you are not ignorant, by one of your followers, which remained there about a twelvemonth with your worshipful Lieutenant M. Ralph Lane, in the diligent search of the secrets of those Countreys. Touching the speedy and effectual pursuing of your action, though I wote well it would demaund a princes purse to have it throughly followed without lingring, yet am I of opinion, that you shall drawe the same before it be long to be profitable and gainful aswel to those of our nation there remaining, as to the merchants of England that shall trade hereafter thither, partly by certaine secret commodities already discovered by your servants, & partly by breeding of divers sorts of beasts in those large and ample regions, and planting of such things in that warme climat as wil best prosper there, and our realme standeth most in need of. And this I find to have bin the course that both the Spaniards and Portugals tooke in the beginnings of their discoveries & conquests. For the Spaniards at their first entrance into Hispaniola found neither suger-canes nor ginger growing there, nor any kind of our cattel: But

A collection of the commodities of Virginia.

[III. 302.]

Meanes to raise benefit in newdiscoveries used by the Spaniards & Portugals.

Kine, sugercanes and ginger transported into Hispaniola and Madera, &c.

finding the place fit for pasture they sent kine & buls and sundry sorts of other profitable beasts thither, & transported the plants of suger-canes, and set the rootes of ginger: the hides of which oxen, with suger and ginger, are now the chiefe merchandise of that Island. The Portugals also at their first footing in Madera, as John Barros writes in his first Decade, found nothing there but mighty woods for timber, whereupon they called the Island by that name. Howbeit the climate being favourable, they inriched it by their own industry with the best wines and sugers in the world. The like maner of proceeding they used in the Isles of the Açores by sowing therin great quantity of Woad. So dealt they in S. Thomas under the Equinoctial, and in Brasil, and sundry other places. And if our men will follow their steps, by your wise direction I doubt not but in due time they shall reape no lesse commoditie and benefit. Moreover there is none other likelihood but that her Majesty, which hath Christned, and given the name to your Virginia, if need require, will deale after the maner of honorable godmothers, which, seeing their gossips not fully able to bring up their children themselves, are wont to contribute to their honest education, the rather if they find any towardlines or reasonable hope of goodnesse in them. And if Elizabeth Queene of Castile and Aragon, after her husband Ferdinando and she had emptied their cofers and exhausted their treasures in subduing the kingdome of Granada and rooting the Mores, a wicked weed, out of Spayne, was neverthelesse so zealous of Gods honour, that (as Fernandus Columbus the sonne of Christopher Columbus recordeth in the history of the deedes of his father) she layd part of her owne jewels, which she had in great account, to gage, to furnish his father foorth upon his first voyage, before any foot of land of all the West Indies was discovered; what may we expect of our most magnificent and gracious prince ELIZABETH of England, into whose lappe the Lord hath most plentifully throwne his treasures, what may wee, I say, hope of her forward-

Woad and vines planted in the Azores.

The great zeale of Elizabeth Queene of Castile and Aragon in advancing of newdiscoveries tending to Gods glory.

nesse and bounty in advancing of this your most honourable enterprise, being farre more certaine then that of Columbus, at that time especially, and tending no lesse to the glorie of God then that action of the Spanyardes? For as you may read in the very last wordes of the relation of Newe Mexico extant nowe in English, the maine land, where your last Colonie meane to seate themselves, is replenished with many thousands of Indians, Which are of better wittes then those of Mexico and Peru, as hath bene found by those that have had some triall of them: whereby it may bee gathered that they will easily embrace the Gospell, forsaking their idolatrie, wherein at this present for the most part they are wrapped and intangled. A wise Philosopher noting the sundry desires of divers men, writeth, that if an oxe bee put into a medowe hee will seeke to fill his bellie with grasse, if a Storke bee cast in shee will seeke for Snakes, if you turne in a Hound he will seeke to start an Hare: So sundry men entring into these discoveries propose unto themselves severall endes. Some seeke authoritie and places of commandement, others experience by seeing of the worlde, the most part worldly and transitorie gaine, and that often times by dishonest and unlawfull meanes, the fewest number the glorie of God and the saving of the soules of the poore and blinded infidels. Yet because divers honest and well disposed persons are entred already into this your businesse, and that I know you meane hereafter to sende some such good Churchmen thither, as may truely say with the Apostle to the Savages, Wee seeke not yours but you: I conceive great comfort of the successe of this your action, hoping that the Lorde, whose power is wont to bee perfected in weakenesse, will blesse the feeble foundations of your building. Onely bee you of a valiant courage and faint not, as the Lorde sayd unto Josue, exhorting him to proceede on forward in the conquest of the land of promise, and remember that private men have happily wielded and waded through as great enterprises as this, with lesser meanes then those which

The aptnesse of the people in the maine of Virginia to embrace Christianitie.

Seneca.

2. *Cor.* 12. 14.

Josue 1. 6.

God in his mercie hath bountifully bestowed upon you, to the singuler good, as I assure my selfe, of this our Common wealth wherein you live. Hereof we have examples domesticall and forreine. Remember I pray you, what you find in the beginning of the Chronicle of the conquest of Ireland newly dedicated unto your selfe. Read you not that Richard Strangbow the decayed earle of Chepstow in Monmuthshire, being in no great favour of his soveraigne, passed over into that Island in the yere 1171. and accompanied only with certain of his private friends had in short space such prosperous successe, that he opened the way for king Henry the second to the speedy subjection of all that warlike nation to this crowne of England? The like conquest of Brasilia, and annexing the same to the kingdome of Portugall was first begun by meane and private men, as Don Antonio de Castillio, Ambassadour here for that realme, and by office keeper of all the records and monuments of their discoveries, assured me in this city in the yere 1581. Now if the greatnes of the maine of Virginia, and the large extension therof, especially to the West, should make you thinke that the subduing of it, were a matter of more difficulty then the conquest of Ireland, first I answere, that as the late experience of that skilfull pilote and Captaine M. John Davis to the Northwest (toward which his discovery your selfe have thrise contributed with the forwardest) hath shewed a great part to be maine sea, where before was thought to be maine land, so for my part I am fully perswaded by Ortelius late reformation of Culvacan and the gulfe of California, that the land on the backe part of Virginia extendeth nothing so far westward as is put downe in the Maps of those parts. Moreover it is not to be denied, but that one hundred men will do more now among the naked and unarmed people in Virginia, then one thousand were able then to do in Ireland against that armed and warlike nation in those daies. I say further, that these two yeres last experience hath plainly shewed, that we may spare

[III. 303.]

The good successe in Ireland of Richard Strangbow earle of Chepstow.

The happy late discoverie to the Northwest of Captaine Davis.

10000. able men without any misse. And these are as many as the kingdome of Portugal had ever in all their garrisons of the Açores, Madera, Arguin, Cape verde, Guinea, Brasill, Mozambique, Melinde, Zocotora, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Malaca, the Malucos, and Macao upon the coast of China. Yea this I say by the confession of singuler expert men of their own nation (whose names I suppresse for certain causes) which have bene personally in the East Indies, & have assured me that their kings had never above ten thousand natural borne Portugals (their slaves excepted) out of their kingdome remaining in all the aforesaid territories. Which also this present yeere I saw confirmed in a secrete extract of the particular estate of that kingdome and of every governement and office subject to the same, with the several pensions thereunto belonging. Seeing therefore we are so farre from want of people, that retyring daily home out of the Lowe Countreys they go idle up and downe in swarms for lack of honest intertainment, I see no fitter place to employ some part of the better sort of them trained up thus long in service, then in the inward partes of the firme of Virginia against such stubborne Savages as shal refuse obedience to her Majestie. And doubtlesse many of our men will bee glad and faine to accept this condition, when as by the reading of this present treatie they shal understand the fertilitie and riches of the regions confining so neere upon yours, the great commodities and goodnesse wherof you have bin contented to suffer to come to light. In the meane season I humbly commend my selfe and this my translation unto you, and your selfe, and all those which under you have taken this enterprise in hand to the grace and good blessing of the Almighty, which is able to build farther, and to finish the good worke which in these our dayes he hath begun by your most Christian and charitable endevour. From London the 1. of May 1587.

The kings of Portugal had never above ten thousand of their naturall subjects in all their new conquered dominions.

Your L. humble at commandement. R. Hakluyt.

[The Preface

The Preface of M. Rene Laudonniere.

THere are two things, which according to mine opinion have bene the principall causes, in consideration whereof aswell they of ancient times, as those of our age have bene induced to travell into farre and remote regions. The first hath beene the naturall desire which wee have to search out the commodities to live happily, plentifully, and at ease: be it whither one abandon his naturall Countrey altogether to dwell in a better, or bee it that men make voyages thither, there to search out and bring from thence such things as are there to be found, and are in greatest estimation and in most request in our Countreys. The second cause hath bene the multitude of people too fruitefull in generation, which being no longer able to dwell in their native soyles, have entred upon their neighbours limites, and oftentimes passing further have pearced even unto the uttermost regions. After this sort the [III. 304.] North climate, a fruitfull father of so many nations hath oftentimes sent foorth this way and that way his valiant people, and by this meane hath peopled infinite Countreys: so that most of the nations of Europe drawe their originall from these parts. Contrariwise the more Southerne regions, because they bee too barren by reason of their insupportable heate which raigneth in them, neede not any such sending forth of their inhabitants, and have bene oftentimes constrained to receive other people more often by force of armes then willingly. All Afrike, Spaine, and Italie can also testifie the same, which never so abounded with people that they had neede to send them abroad to inhabite elsewhere: as on the contrary Scythia, Norway, Gotland, and France have done. The posterity of which nations remaineth yet not only in Italy, Spaine & Afrike, but also in fruitful and faire Asia. Neverthelesse I find

that the Romans proceeding further, or rather adding unto these two chiefe causes aforesaid, (as being most curious to plant not onely their ensignes and victories, but also their lawes, customes, & religion in those provinces which they had conquered by force of armes) have oftentimes by the decree of their soveraigne Senate sent forth inhabitants, which they called Colonies (thinking by this way to make their name immortall) even to the unfurnishing of their own Countrey of the forces which should have preserved the same in her perfection: a thing which hindred them much more, then advanced them to the possession of the universal monarchy, whereunto their intention did aspire. For it came to passe that their Colonies here and there being miserably sacked by strange people did utterly ruin and overthrow their Empire. The brinks of the river of Rhene are yet red, those of Danubius are no lesse bloody, and our France became fat with their blood which they lost. These are the effects and rewards of al such as being pricked forward with this Romane and tyrannical ambition will goe about thus to subdue strange people: effects, I say, contrary to the profit which those shall receive, which onely are affectioned to the common benefite, that is to say, to the generall policie of all men, and endevour to unite them one with another as well by trafficke and civill conversations, as also by military vertues, and force of armes, when as the Savages will not yeeld unto their endevours so much tending unto their profit.

Planting of Colonies.

When force of armes is to be used.

For this cause princes have sent forth out of their Dominions certaine men of good activity to plant themselves in strange Countreys, their to make their profite to bring the Countrey to civilitie, and if it might be, to reduce the inhabitants to the true knowledge of our God: an end so much more commendable, as it is farre from all tyrannicall and cruell governement: and so they have alwayes thrived in their enterprises, and by little and little gained the heartes of them which they have conquered or wonne unto them by any meanes. Hereof

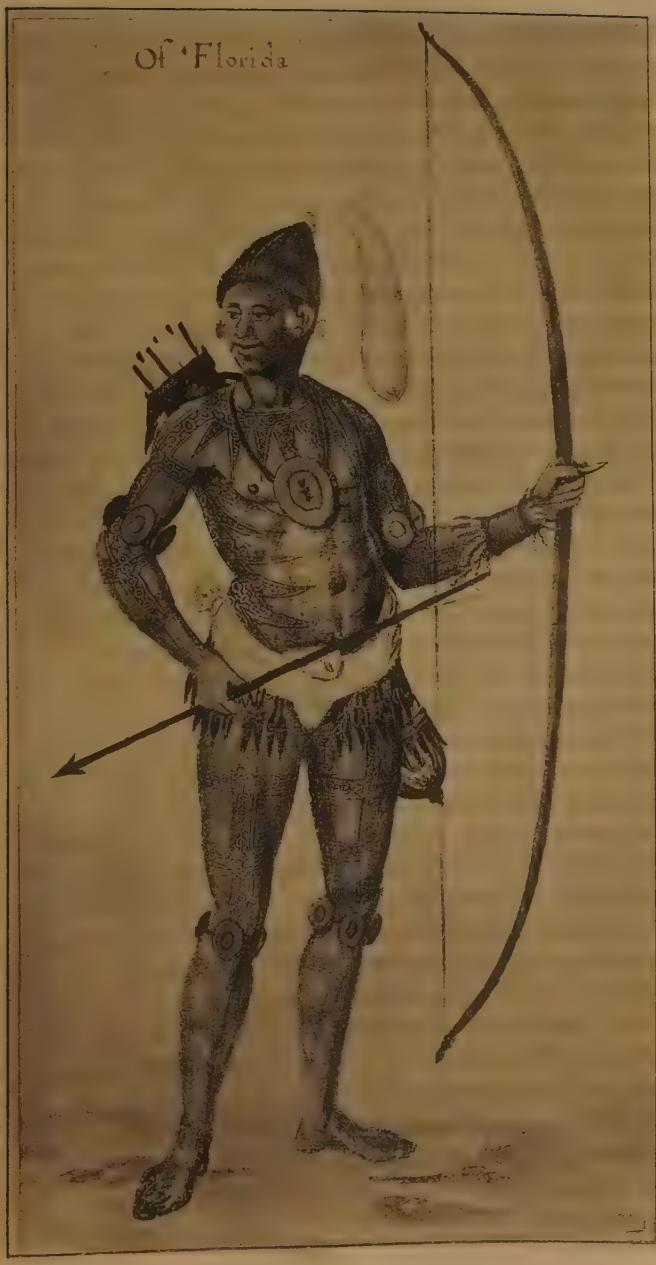
wee may gather that sometimes it is good, yea very expedient to send forth men to discover the pleasure and commoditie of strange Countreys: But so, that the Countrey out of which these companies are to passe remaine not weakned, nor deprived of her forces: And againe in such sort that the company sent forth be of so just & sufficient number, that it may not be defeited by strangers, which every foote endevour nothing else but to surprise the same upon the sudden. As within these few daies past the French have proved to my great griefe, being able by no means possible to withstand the same, considering that the elements, men, and all the favours which might be hoped for of a faithfull and Christian alliance fought against us: which thing I purpose to discover in this present historie with so evident trueth, that the Kings Majesty my soveraigne prince shall in part be satisfied of the diligence which I have used in his service, and mine adversaries shall find themselves so discovered in their false reports, that they shall have no place of refuge. But before I begin, I will briefly set downe the situation and description of the land whereunto we have sailed and where we have inhabited from the yeere 1561. unto sixty five, to the ende that those things may the more easily be borne away, which I meane to describe in this discourse.

Two conditions required in conquests of Countreys newly discovered. Nota.

The description of the West Indies in generall, but chiefly and particularly of Florida.

America unknowen to all antiquity.

THat part of the earth which at this day we call the fourth part of the world, or America, or rather the West India, was unknowen unto our ancestours by reason of the great distance thereof. In like maner all the Westerne Islands and fortunate Isles were not discovered but by those of our age. Howbeit there have bin some which have said that they were discoverd in the



A NATIVE OF FLORIDA

time of Augustus Cæsar, and that Virgil hath made mention thereof in the sixt booke of his Æneidos, when he saith, There is a land beyond the starres, and the course of the yeere and of the Sunne, where Atlas the Porter of heaven sustaineth the pole upon his shoulders: neverthelesse it is easie to judge that hee meaneth not to speake of this land, whereof no man is found to have written before his time, neither yet above a thousand yeeres after. Christopher Colon did first light upon this land in the yeere 1592. And five yeeres after Americus went thither by the commandement of the king of Castile, and gave unto it his own name, whereupon afterward it was called America. This man was very well seene in the Arte of Navigation and in Astronomie: whereby hee discovered in his time many lands unknowen unto the ancient Geographers. This Countrey is named by some, the land of Bresill, and the lande of Parots. It stretcheth it selfe, according unto Postell, from the one Pole to the other, saving at the streight of Magelan, whereunto it reacheth 53. degrees beyond the Equator. I will divide it for the better understanding into three principall parts. That which is toward the Pole Arcticke on the North is called new France, because that in the yeere 1524. John Verrazzano a Florentine was sent by King Francis the first, and by Madam the Regent his mother unto these newe Regions, where he went on land, and discovered all the coast which is from the Tropicke of Cancer, to wit, from the eight and twentieth unto the fiftieth degree, and father unto the North. Hee planted in this Countrey the Ensignes and Armes of the king of France: so that the Spaniardes themselves which were there afterwarde, have named this Countrey Terra Francesca. The same then extendeth itselfe in Latitude from the 25. degree unto the 54. toward the North: and in Longitude from 210. unto 330. The Easterne part thereof is called by the late writers The land of Norumbega, which beginneth at the Bay of Gama,

[III. 305.]

Christopher Colon or Columbe.

Americus Vespucius of whom America tooke the name.

The first generall part of America.

Cabota in the yeere 1597 had discovered all this tract for the crowne of England.

which separateth it from the Isle of Canada, whither Jaques Carthier sayled the yeere 1535. About the which there are many Ilands, among which is that which is named Terra de Labrador stretching towarde Groenland. In the Westerne part there are many knowen Countreys, as the Regions of Quivira, Civola, Astatlan, and Terlichichimici. The Southerne part is called Florida, because it was discovered on Palme-sunday, which the Spaniardes call Pascha Florida. The Northerne part is altogether unknowen.

The second generall part of America.

The second part of all America is called newe Spaine. It extendeth from the Tropicke of Cancer in twentie three degrees and a halfe, unto the ninth degree. In the same is situated the Citie of Themistitan, and it hath many Regions, and many Ilandes adjoyned unto it, which are called the Antilles, whereof the most famous and renoumed are Hispaniola and Isabella, with an infinite number of others. All this land, together with the Bay of Mexico, and all the Ilands aforesayd, have not in Longitude past seventie degrees, to wit, from the two hundreth and fortie, unto three hundreth and ten: it is also long and narrowe as Italie.

The third generall part of America.

The third part of America is called Peru, it is very great, and extendeth it selfe in Latitude from the tenth degree unto the three and fiftieth beyond the Equator, to wit, as I have sayde before, unto the streight of Magelan. It is made in fashion like to an egge, and is very well knowen upon all sides. The part where it is largest hath threescore degrees, and from thence it waxeth narrower and narrower toward both the endes.

Villegaignon.

In one part of this lande Villegagnon planted right under the Tropicke of Capricorne, and he called it France Antarctick, because it draweth toward the pole Antarctick, as our France doeth toward the Arctick.

Florida with an ample description thereof.

New France is almost as great as all our Europe. Howbeit the most knowen and inhabited part thereof is Florida, whither many Frenchmen have made divers voyages at sundry times, insomuch that nowe it is the

best knowen Countrey which is in all this part of newe France. The Cape thereof is as it were a long head of lande stretching out into the Sea an hundred leagues, and runneth directly towarde the South: it hath right over against it five and twentie leagues distant the Isle of Cuba otherwise called Isabella, toward the East the Isles of Bahama and Lucaya, and toward the West the Bay of Mexico. The Countrey is flat, and divided with divers rivers, and therefore moyst, and is sandie towards the Sea shore. There groweth in those partes great quantitie of Pinetrees, which have no kernels in the apples which they beare. Their woods are full of Oakes, Walnuttrees, blacke Cherrietrees, Mulberry trees, Lentiskes, and Chestnut trees, which are more wilde then those in France. There is great store of Cedars, Cypresses, Bayes, Palme trees, Hollies, and wilde Vines, which climbe up along the trees and beare good Grapes. There is there a kinde of Medlers, the fruite whereof is better then that of France, and bigger. There are also Plumtrees, which beare very faire fruite, but such as is not very good. There are Raspasses, and a little berrie which we call among us Blues, which are very good to eate. There growe in that Countrey a kinde of Rootes which they call in their language Hasez, whereof in necessitie they make bread. There is also there the tree called Esquine, which is very good against the Pockes and other contagious diseases. The Beastes best knowen in this Countrey are Stagges, Hindes, Goates, Deere, Leopards, Ounces, Luserns, divers sortes of Wolves, wilde Dogs, Hares, Cunnies, and a certaine kinde of beast that differeth little from the Lyon of Africa. The foules are Turkeycocks, Partridges, Parrots, Pigions, Ringdoves, Turtles, Blackbirdes, Crowes, Tarcels, Faulcons, Laynerds, Herons, Cranes, Storkes, wilde Geese, Malards, Cormorants, Hernshawes, white, red, blacke and gray, and an infinite sort of all wilde foule. There is such abundance of Crocodiles, that oftentimes in swimming men are assayled by them; of Serpents there are many sorts.

The trees of Florida.

These are perhaps those which the Savages call Tunas.

The beasts of Florida.

[III. 306.]

The foule of Florida.

Crocodiles.

There is found among the Savages good quantitie of Gold and Silver, which is gotten out of the shippes that are lost upon the coast, as I have understood by the Savages themselves. They use traffique thereof one with another. And that which maketh me the rather beleeve it, is, that on the coast towarde the Cape, where commonly the shippes are cast away, there is more store of Silver then toward the North. Neverthelesse they say, that in the Mountaines of Appalatcy there are Mines of Copper, which I thinke to be Golde. There is also in this Countrey great store of graynes and herbes, whereof might be made excellent good dyes and paintings of all kind of colours. And in trueth the Indians which take pleasure in painting of their skins, know very well how to use the same. The men are of an Olive colour, of great stature, faire, without any deformitie, and well proportioned. They cover their privities with the skinne of a Stagge well dressed. The most part of them have their bodies, armes, and thighes painted with very faire devises: the painting whereof can never bee taken away, becase the same is pricked into their flesh. Their haire is very blacke and reacheth even downe to their hips, howbeit they trusse it up after a fashion that becommeth them very well. They are great dissemblers and traitours, valiant of their persons & fight very well. They have none other weapons but their bowes and arrowes. They make the string of their bow of a gut of a Stag, or of a Stags skin, which they know how to dresse as well as any man in France, and with as different sorts of colours. They head their arrowes with the teeth of fishes and stone, which they worke very finely and handsomly. They exercise their yong men to runne well, and they make a game among themselves, which he winneth that hath the longest breath. They also exercise themselves much in shooting. They play at the ball in this maner: they set up a tree in the middest of a place which is eight or nine fathom high, in the top whereof there is set a square mat made of reedes or Bulrushes, which whoso-

Gold and silver.
The mountaines of Appalatcy.
Store of dyes and colours.
The disposition and maners of the Floridians.
The wearing of their haire.
Their exercise and pastime.
Running for games.
Shooting.
Playing at the Ball.

ever hitteth in playing thereat, winneth the game. They take great pleasure in hunting and fishing. The kings of the Countrey make great warre one against the other, which is not executed but by surprise, and they kill all the men they can take: afterward they cut of their heads to have their haire, which returning home they carry away, to make thereof their triumph when they come to their houses. They save the women and children and nourish them and keepe them alwayes with them. Being returned home from the warre, they assemble all their subjects, and for joy three days and three nights they make good cheare, they daunce & sing, likewise they make the most ancient women of the Countrey to dance, holding the haires of their enemies in their hands: and in dauncing they sing praises to the Sunne, ascribing unto him the honour of the victory. They have no knowledge of God, nor of any religion, saving of that which they see, as the Sunne and the Moone. They have their Priests to whom they give great credit, because they are great magicians, great soothsayers, and callers upon divels. These Priests serve them in stead of Physitions and Chirurgions. They carry alwayes about them a bag full of herbes and drugs to cure the sicke diseased which for the most part are sick of the pocks, for they love women & maidens exceedingly, which they call the daughters of the Sunne: and some of them are Sodomites. They marry, and every one hath his wife, and it is lawfull for the King to have two or three: yet none but the first is honoured and acknowledged for Queene: and none but the children of the first wife inherite the goods and authoritie of the father. The women doe all the businesse at home. They keepe not house with them after they know they be with child. And they eate not of that which they touch as long as they have their flowers. There are in all this Countrey many Hermaphrodites, which take all the greatest paine, and beare the victuals when they goe to warre. They paint their faces much, and sticke their haire full of

Hunting. Fishing. Their forme of warre.

Their triumphes after the victorie.

They worship the Sunne and Moone.

Their Priests are both Magicians and Physitions.

Their marriages.

The painefulnesse of the women.

Many Hermaphrodites which have the nature of both sexes.

feathers or downe, that they may seeme more terrible. *Their foode and provision for warre.* The victuals which they carry with them, are of bread, of hony, and of meale made of Maiz parched in the fire, which they keepe without being marred a long while. *Their dressing their flesh and fish over the smoke.* They carry also sometimes fish, which they cause to be dressed in the smoke. In necessitie they eat a thousand rifraffes, even to the swallowing downe of coales, and putting sand into the pottage that they make with this meale. *Their order in marching to the warre.* When they goe to warre, their King marcheth first, with a clubbe in the one hand, and his bowe in the other, with his quiver full of arrowes. All his men follow him, which have likewise their bowes and arrowes. While they fight, they make great cries and exclamations. *Their consultations.* They take no enterprise in hand, but first they assemble oftentimes their Councell together, and they take very good advisement before they growe to a resolution. [III. 307.] They meete together every morning in a great common house, whither their King repaireth, and setteth him downe upon a seate which is higher then the seates of the other: where all of them one after another come and salute him: *Their saluting of their kings.* and the most ancient begin their salutations, lifting up both their handes twise as high as their face, saying, ha, he, ya, and the rest answer ha, ha. Assoone as they have done their salutation, every man sitteth him downe upon the seates which are round about in the house. If there be any thing to intreate of, the King calleth the Jawas, that is to say, their Priestes, and the most ancient men, and asketh them their advise. Afterward he commaundeth Cassine to be brewed, which is a drinke made of the *The drinking of Cassine before they goe to battell.* leaves of a certaine tree: They drinke this Cassine very hotte: he drinketh first, then he causeth to be given thereof to all of them one after another in the same boule, which holdeth well a quart measure of Paris. *The honor exhibited unto men of valure above other.* They make so great account of this drinke, that no man may taste thereof in this assembly, unlesse hee hath made proofe of his valure in the warre. Moreover this drinke *The excellencie of Cassine.* hath such a vertue, that assoone as they have drunke it, they become all in a sweate, which sweate being past, it

taketh away hunger and thirst for foure and twenty houres after. When a King dyeth, they burie him very solemnly, and upon his grave they set the cuppe wherein he was woont to drinke: and round about the sayde grave they sticke many arrowes, and weepe and fast three dayes together without ceassing. All the kings which were his friends make the like mourning: and in token of the love which they bare him, they cut of more then the one halfe of their haire, as well men as women. During the space of sixe Moones (so they reckon their moneths) there are certaine women appoynted which bewaile the death of this King, crying with a loude voyce thrise a day, to wit, in the Morning, at Noone, and at Evening. All the goods of this King are put into his house, and afterward they set it on fire, so that nothing is ever more after to be seene. The like is done with the goods of the Priestes, and besides they burie the bodies of the Priests in their houses, and then they set them on fire. They sowe their Maiz twise a yere, to wit, in March and in June, and all in one and the same soyle. The sayd Maiz from the time that it is sowed untill the time that it be ready to be gathered, is but three moneths on the ground. The other 6. moneths they let the earth rest. They have also faire Pumpions, & very good Beanes. They never dung their land, onely when they would sowe, they set the weedes on fire, which grewe up the 6. moneths, and burne them all. They dig their ground with an instrument of wood which is fashioned like a broad mattocke, wherewith they digge their Vines in France, they put two graines of Maiz together. When the land is to be sowed, the King commaundeth one of his men to assemble his subjects every day to labour, during which labour the King causeth store of that drinke to be made for them, whereof we have spoken. At the time when the Maiz is gathered, it is all carried into a common house, where it is distributed to every man

Their maner of the buriall of Kings.

Their cutting of more then halfe their haire.

The buriall of their Priests.

Sowing twise in 6 moneths.

Faire pumpions.

Goodly beanes.

Instruments wherewith they till their ground.

The bringing of all the crop into a common house.

according to his qualitie. They sowe no more but that which they thinke will serve their turnes for sixe moneths, & that very scarcely. For during the Winter they retire themselves for three or foure moneths in the yeere into the woods, where they make little cotages of Palme boughes for their retraite, and live there of Maste, of Fish which they take, of Oisters, of Stagges, of Turkeycockes, and other beasts which they take. They eate all their meate broyled on the coales, and dressed in the smoake, which in their language they call Boucaned. They eate willingly the flesh of the Crocodile: and in deede it is faire and white: and were it not that it savoureth too much like Muske we would oftentimes have eaten thereof. They have a custome among them, that when they finde themselves sicke, where they feele the paine, whereas we cause ourselves to be let blood, their Physitions sucke them untill they make the blood follow.

Their provision of corne for 6 moneths onely.

Their maner of living in the Winter.

The dressing of their meate in the smoake.

Their maner of curing diseases.

The women are likewise of good proportion and tall, and of the same colour that the men be of, painted as the men be: Howbeit when they are borne, they be not so much of an Olive colour, and are farre whiter. For the chiefe cause that maketh them to be of this colour proceedes of annointings of oyle which they use among them: and they doe it for a certaine ceremonie which I could not learne, and because of the Sunne which shineth hote upon their bodies. The agilitie of the women is so great, that they can swimme over the great Rivers bearing their children upon one of their armes. They climbe up also very nimbly upon the highest trees in the Countrey.

Their womens dispositions and maners.

Oile in Florida.

Women great swimmers.

Beholde in briefe the description of the Countrey, with the nature and customes of the Inhabitants: which I was very willing to write, before I entred any further into the discourse of my historie, to the end that the Readers might be the better prepared to understand that, which I meane hereafter to entreate of.

MY Lord Admirall of Chastillon, a noble man more desirous of the publique then of his private benefite, understanding the pleasure of the King his prince, which was to discover new and strange Countreys, caused vessels fit for this purpose to be made ready with all diligence, and men to bee levied meete for such an enterprise: Among whom hee chose Captaine John Ribault, a man in trueth expert in sea causes: which having received his charge, set himselfe to Sea the yeere 1562. the eighteenth of Februarie, accompanied onely with two of the kings shippes, but so well furnished with Gentlemen, (of whose number I my selfe was one) and with olde Souldiers, that he had meanes to atchieve some notable thing and worthy of eternall memorie. Having therefore sayled two moneths, never holding the usuall course of the Spaniards, hee arrived in Florida, landing neere a Cape or Promontorie, which is no high lande, because the coast is all flatte, but onely rising by reason of the high woods, which at his arrivall he called Cape François in honour of our France. This Cape is distant from the Equator about thirtie degrees. Coasting from this place towards the North, he discovered a very faire and great River, which gave him occasion to cast anker that hee might search the same the next day very early in the morning: which being done by the breake of day, accompanied with Captaine Fiquinville and divers other souldiers of his shippe, he was no sooner arrived on the brinke of the shoare, but straight hee perceived many Indians men and women, which came of purpose to that place to receive the Frenchmen with all gentlenesse and amitie, as they well declared by the Oration which their king made, and the presents of Chamois skinnes wherewith he honoured our Captaine, which the day following caused a pillar of hard stone to be planted within the sayde River, and not farre from the mouth of the same upon a little sandie knappe, in which pillar the [III. 308.]

The first voyage of John Ribault to Florida 1562.

The course of the Spaniards not altogether necessary.

Cape Franzois in 30. degrees.

A pillar set up.

Armes of France were carved and engraved. This being done hee embarked himselfe againe, to the ende alwayes to discover the coast toward the North which was his chiefe desire. After he had sayled a certaine time he crossed over to the other side of the river, and then in the presence of certaine Indians, which of purpose did attend him, hee commaunded his men to make their prayers, to give thankes to GOD, for that of his grace hee had conducted the French nation unto these strange places without any danger at all. The prayers being ended, the Indians which were very attentive to hearken unto them, thinking in my judgement, that wee worshipped the Sunne, because wee alwayes had our eyes lifted up toward heaven, rose all up and came to salute the Captaine John Ribault, promising to shew him their King, which rose not up as they did, but remained still sitting upon greene leaves of Bayes and Palmetrees: toward whom the Captaine went and sate downe by him, and heard him make a long discourse, but with no great pleasure, because hee could not understand his language, and much lesse his meaning. The King gave our Captaine at his departure a plume or fanne of Hernshawes feathers died in red, and a basket made of Palmeboughes after the Indian fashion, and wrought very artificially, and a great skinne painted and drawen throughout with the pictures of divers wilde beasts so lively drawen and portrayed, that nothing lacked but life. The Captaine to shew himselfe not unthankfull, gave him pretie tinne bracelets, a cutting hooke, a looking glasse, and certaine knives: whereupon the King shewed himselfe to be very glad and fully contented. Having spent the most part of the day with these Indians, the Captaine imbarked himselfe to passe over to the north side of the River, whereat the king seemed to bee very sorie. Neverthelesse being not able to stay us, hee commaunded that with all diligence they should take fish for us: which they did

Prayer and thankes to God.

Presents given to Ribault.

with all speede. For being entred into their Weares or inclosures made of reedes and framed in the fashion of a Labirynth or Mase, they loaded us with Troutes, great Mullets, Plaise, Turbuts, and marveilous store of other sortes of fishes altogether different from ours. *Their fish-weares like those of Virginia.*

This done, we entred into our Boates and went toward the other shore. But before we came to the shore, we were saluted with a number of other Indians, which entring into the water to their armepits, brought us many litle baskets full of Maiz, and goodly Mulberries both red and white: Others offered themselves to beare us on shoare, where being landed we perceived their King sitting upon a place dressed with boughes, and under a little Arbour of Cedars and Bay trees somewhat distant from the waters side. He was accompanied with two of his sonnes which were exceeding faire and strong, and with a troope of Indians who had all their bowes and arrowes in marveilous good order. His two sonnes received our Captaine very graciously: but the king their father, representing I wot not what kinde of gravitie, did nothing but shake his head a little: then the Captaine went forward to salute him, and without any other moving of himselfe he reteined so constant a kind of gravitie, that hee made it seeme unto us that by good and lawfull right hee bare the title of a King. Our Captaine knowing not what to judge of this mans behaviour, though he was jelous because wee went first unto the other king, or else that he was not well pleased with the Pillar or Columne which he had planted. While thus he knew not what hereof to [III. 309.] thinke, our Captaine shewed him by signes, that he was come from a farre Countrey to seeke him, to let him understand the amitie which he was desirous to have with him: for the better confirmation whereof, hee drewe out of a budget certaine trifles, as certaine bracelets covered as it were with silver and guilt, which hee presented him withall, and gave his sonnes certaine

They passe over the river.

Goodly mulberries white and red.

other trifles. Whereupon the King beganne very lovingly to intreate both our Captaine and us. And after these gentle intertainments, wee went our selves into the woods, hoping there to discover some singularities: where were great store of Mulberrie trees white and red, on the toppes whereof there was an infinite number of silkewormes. Following our way wee discovered a faire and great medowe, divided notwithstanding with divers Marishes, which constrained us by reason of the water, which environed it about, to returne backe againe towarde the Rivers side. Finding not the King there, which by this time was gone home to his house, wee entred into our Boates and sayled towarde our shippes: where after we arrived, we called this River The River of May, because we discovered it the first day of the sayde moneth.

Great store of silkewormes.

The river of May.

Soone after we returned to our shippes, wee weighed our ankers and hoysed our sailes to discover the coast farther forward, along the which wee discovered another faire River, which the Captaine himselfe was minded to search out, and having searched it out with the king and inhabitants thereof, hee named it Seine, because it is very like unto the River of Seine in France. From this River wee retired toward our shippes, where being arrived, we trimmed our sailes to saile further toward the North, and to descry the singularities of the coast. But wee had not sayled any great way before wee discovered another very faire River, which caused us to cast anker over against it, and to trimme out two Boates to goe to search it out. Wee found there an Ile and a king no lesse affable then the rest, afterwarde we named this River Somme. From thence wee sayled about sixe leagues, after wee discovered another River, which after wee had viewed was named by us by the name of Loyre. And consequently we there discovered five others: whereof the first was named Cherente, the second Garonne, the third Gironde, the fourth Belle, the fift Grande: which being very well discovered with such

The river of Seine.

The River of Somme.

The River of Loyre.

The Rivers of Cherente, Garonne, Gironde, Belle, Grande.

things as were in them, by this time in lesse then the space of threescore leagues wee had found out many singularities along nine Rivers. Neverthelesse not fully satisfied wee sayled yet further towarde the North, following the course that might bring us to the River of Jordan one of the fairest Rivers of the North, and holding our wonted course, great fogges and tempests came upon us, which constrained us to leave the coast to beare toward the maine Sea, which was the cause that we lost the sight of our Pinnesses a whole day and a night untill the next day in the morning, what time the weather waxing faire and the Sea calme, wee discovered a River which wee called Belle a veoir. After wee had sayled three or foure leagues, wee began to espie our Pinnesses which came straight toward us, and at their arrivall they reported to the Captaine, that while the foule weather and fogges endured, they harboured themselves in a mightie River which in bignesse and beautie exceeded the former: wherewithall the Captaine was exceeding joyfull, for his chiefe desire was to finde out an Haven to harbour his shippes, and there to refresh our selves for a while. Thus making thitherward wee arrived athwart the sayde River, (which because of the fairenesse and largenesse thereof wee named Port Royall) wee strooke our sailes and cast anker at ten fathom of water: for the depth is such, namely when the Sea beginneth to flowe, that the greatest shippes of France, yea, the Arguzes of Venice may enter in there. Having cast anker, the Captaine with his Souldiers went on shoare, and hee himselfe went first on land: where we found the place as pleasaunt as was possible, for it was all covered over with mightie high Oakes and infinite store of Cedars, and with Lentiskes growing underneath them, smelling so sweetly, that the very fragrant odor only made the place to seeme exceeding pleasant. As we passed thorow these woods we saw nothing but Turkeycocks flying in the Forrests, Partridges gray and red, little different from ours, but chiefly in bignesse.

The river Belle a veoir.

The River of Port Royall in 32. degrees of latitude.

Turkeycocks. Partridges gray and red.

Wee heard also within the woods the voyces of Stagges, of Beares, of Lusernes, of Leopards, & divers other sortes of Beastes unknowen unto us. Being delighted with this place, we set our selves to fishing with nets, & we caught such a number of fish, that it was wonderfull. And amongst other wee tooke a certaine kind of fish which we call Sallicoques, which were no lesse then Crevises, so that two draughts of the net were sufficient to feede all the companie of our two ships for a whole day. The River at the mouth thereof from Cape to Cape is no lesse then 3. French leagues broad; it is divided into two great armes, whereof the one runneth toward the West, the other towards the North: And I beleeve in my judgement that the arme which stretcheth towarde the North runneth up into the Countrey as farre as the River Jordan, the other arme runneth into the Sea, as it was knowen and understoode by those of our company, which were left behind to dwell in this place. These two armes are two great leagues broad: and in the middest of them there is an Ile, which is poynted towardes the opening of the great River, in which Iland there are infinite numbers of all sortes of strange beasts. There are Simples growing there of so rare properties, and in so great quantitie, that it is an excellent thing to behold them. On every side there is nothing to be seene but Palmetrees, and other sorts of trees bearing blossoms and fruite of very rare shape and very good smell. But seeing the evening approch, and that the Captaine determined to returne unto the shippes, wee prayed him to suffer us to passe the night in this place. In our absence the Pilots and chiefe Mariners advertised the Captaine that it was needefull to bring the shippes further up within the River, to avoyde the dangers of the windes which might annoy us, by reason of our being so neere to the mouth of the River: and for this cause the Captaine sent for us. Being come to our shippes, wee sayled three leagues further up within the River, and there we cast anker. A little while

Fish in abundance.

The River 3. leagues at the mouth.

A passage by a river into the Sea.

[III. 310]

Store of rare simples.

after, John Ribault accompanied with a good number of souldiers imbarked himselfe, desirous to sayle further up into the arme that runneth toward the West, and to search the commodities of the place. Having sayled twelve leagues at the least, we perceived a troope of Indians, which assoone as ever they espied the Pinnesses, were so afrayd that they fled into the woods leaving behind them a yong Lucerne which they were a turning upon a spit: for which cause the place was called Cape Lucerne: proceeding foorth on our way, we found another arme of the River, which ranne toward the East, up which the Captaine determined to sayle and to leave the great current. A little while after they began to espie divers other Indians both men and women halfe hidden within the woods: who knowing not that wee were such as desired their friendship, were dismayed at the first, but soone after were emboldened, for the Captaine caused store of marchandise to bee shewed them openly whereby they knew that we meant nothing but well unto them: and then they made a signe that we should come on lande, which wee would not refuse. At our comming on shoare divers of them came to salute our Generall according to their barbarous fashion. Some of them gave him skins of Chamois, others little baskets made of Palme leaves, some presented him with Pearles, but no great number. Afterwards they went about to make an arbour to defend us in that place from the parching heate of the Sunne. But wee would not stay as then. Wherefore the Captaine thanked them much for their good will, and gave presents to each of them: wherewith hee pleased them so well before hee went thence, that his suddaine departure was nothing pleasant unto them. For knowing him to bee so liberall, they would have wished him to have stayed a little longer, seeking by all meanes to give him occasion to stay, shewing him by signes that he should stay but that day onely, and that they desired to advertise a great Indian Lorde which had Pearles in great abundance, and Silver also, all which

Ribault saileth 12. leagues up the River.

Cape Lucerne.

Chamois.

Pearles.

Store of pearles and silver.

things should bee given unto him at the Kings arrivall: saying further that in the meane time while that this great Lord came thither, they would lead him to their houses, and shewe him there a thousand pleasures in shooting, and seeing the Stagge killed, therefore they prayed him not to denie them their request. Notwithstanding wee returned to our shippes, where after wee had bene but one night, the Captaine in the morning commanded to put into the Pinnesse a pillar of hard stone fashioned like a columne, wherein the Armes of the king of France were graven, to plant the same in the fairest place that he could finde. This done, wee imbarked our selves, and sayled three leagues towards the West: where we discovered a little river, up which we sayled so long, that in the ende we found it returned into the great current, and in his returne to make a litle Iland separated from the firme land, where wee went on shore: and by commandement of the Captaine, because it was exceeding faire and pleasant, there wee planted the Pillar upon a hillock open round about to the view, and invironed with a lake halfe a fathom deepe of very good and sweete water. In which Iland wee sawe two Stagges of exceeding bignesse, in respect of those which we had seene before, which we might easily have killed with our harguebuzes, if the Captaine had not forbidden us, mooved with the singular fairenesse and bignesse of them. But before our departure we named the little river which environed this Ile, The River of Liborne. Afterward we imbarked our selves to search another Ile not farre distant from the former: wherein after wee had gone a land, wee found nothing but tall Cedars, the fairest that were seene in this Countrey. For this cause wee called it The Ile of Cedars: so wee returned into our Pinnesse to go towards our shippes.

A Pillar of free stone wherein the Armes of France were graven, set up in an Iland in the river of Port Royal.

The river of Liborne.

The Ile of Cedars.

A few dayes afterward John Ribault determined to returne once againe toward the Indians which inhabited that arme of the River which runneth toward the West, and to carrie with him good store of souldiers. For

his meaning was to take two Indians of this place to bring them into France, as the Queene had commaunded him. With this deliberation againe wee tooke our former course so farre foorth, that at the last wee came to the selfe same place where at the first we found the Indians, from thence we tooke two Indians by the permission of the king, which thinking that they were more favoured [III. 311.] then the rest, thought themselves very happy to stay with us. But these two Indians seeing we made no *Two Indians taken away.* shew at all that we would goe on land, but rather that wee followed the middest of the current, began to be somewhat offended, and would by force have lept into the water, for they are so good swimmers that immediatly they would have gotten into the forrestes. Neverthelesse being acquainted with their humour, wee watched them narrowly and sought by all meanes to appease them: which we could not by any meanes do for that time, though we offered them things which they much esteemed, which things they disdained to take, and gave backe againe whatsoever was given them, thinking that such giftes should have altogether bound them, and that in restoring them they should be restored unto their libertie. In fine, perceiving that all that they did avayled them nothing, they prayed us to give them those things which they had restored, which we did incontinent: then they approched one toward the other and began to sing, *The dolefull songs of the Indians.* agreeing so sweetely together, that in hearing their song it seemed that they lamented the absence of their friendes. They continued their songs all night without ceasing: all which time we were constrained to ly at anker by reason of the tyde that was against us, but we hoysed sayle the next day very earely in the morning, and returned to our ships. Assoone as we were come to our ships, every one sought to gratifie these 2 Indians, & to shew them the best countenance that was possible: to the intent that by such courtesies they might perceive the good desire and affection which we had to remaine their friends in time to come. Then we offered them meate to eate, but they

The Indians eat not before the sun be set.

refused it, and made us understand that they were accustomed to wash their face and to stay untill the Sunne were set before they did eate, which is a ceremonie common to all the Indians of Newe France. Neverthelesse in the end they were constrained to forget their superstitions, and to apply themselves to our nature, which was somewhat strange unto them at the first. They became therfore more jocunde, every houre made us a 1000 discourses, being merveilous sory that we could not understand them. A few daies after they began to beare so good wil towards mee, that, as I thinke, they would rather have perished with hunger & thirst, then have taken their refection at any mans hand but mine. Seeing this their good wil, I sought to learne some Indian words, & began to aske them questions, shewing them the thing wherof I desired to know the name, how they called it. They were very glad to tell it me, and knowing the desire that I had to learne their language, they encouraged me afterward to aske them every thing. So that putting downe in writing the words and phrases of the Indian speech, I was able to understand the greatest part of their discourses. Every day they did nothing but speak unto me of the desire that they had to use me wel, if we returned unto their houses, and cause me to receive all the pleasures that they could devise, aswell in hunting as in seeing their very strange and superstitious ceremonies at a certaine feast which they call Toya. Which feast they observe as straightly as we observe the Sunday. They gave me to understand, that they would bring me to see the greatest Lord of this countrey which they called Chiquola, which exceedeth them in height (as they tolde me) a good foote and a halfe. They said unto me that he dwelt within the land in a very large place and inclosed exceeding high, but I could not learne wherewith. And as farre as I can judge, this place whereof they spake unto me, was a very faire citie. For they said unto me that within the inclosure there was great store of houses which were built very high, wherein there was an infinite number of men like

Laudonniers putting down in writing the words and phrases of the Indians speech.

The feast of Toya.

This seemeth to be La grand Copal.

unto themselves, which made none account of gold, of silver, nor of pearles, seeing they had thereof in abundance. I began then to shew them al the parts of heaven, to the intent to learne in which quarter they dwelt. And straightway one of them stretching out his hand shewed me y^t^ they dwelt toward the North, which makes me thinke that it was the river of Jordan. And now I remember, that in the raigne of the Emperour Charles the fift, certaine Spaniards inhabitants of S. Domingo (which made a voyage to get certaine slaves to work in their mines) stole away by subtilty the inhabitants of this river, to the number of 40, thinking to cary them into their new Spaine. But they lost their labour: for in despite they died al for hunger, saving one that was brought to the Emperor, which a litle while after he caused to be baptised, and gave him his own name & called him Charles of Chiquola, because he spake so much of this Lorde of Chiquola whose subject hee was. Also, he reported continually, that Chiquola made his abode within a very great inclosed citie. Besides this proof, those which were left in the first voyage have certified me, that the Indians shewed them by evident signes, that farther within the land toward the North, there was a great inclosure or city, where Chiquola dwelt. After they had staied a while in our ships, they began to be sory, and stil demanded of me when they should returne. I made them understand that the Captaines will was to send them home againe, but that first he would bestow apparell of them, which fewe dayes after was delivered unto them. But seeing he would not give them licence to depart, they resolved with themselves to [III. 312.] steale away by night, and to get a litle boat which we had, and by the help of the tyde to saile home toward their dwellings, and by this meanes to save themselves. Which thing they failed not to doe, and put their enterprize in execution, yet leaving behinde them the apparel which the Captaine had given them, and carrying away nothing but that which was their owne, shewing well

The 2 Indians escape away.

hereby that they were not void of reason. The Captaine cared not greatly for their departure, considering they had not bene used otherwise then well: and that therefore they woulde not estrange themselves from the Frenchmen. Captaine Ribault therefore knowing the singular fairenes of this river, desired by all meanes to encourage some of his men to dwell there, well foreseeing that this thing might be of great importance for the Kings service, and the reliefe of the Common wealth of France. Therfore proceeding on with his intent, he commanded the ankers to bee weighed and to set things in order to returne unto the opening of the river, to the ende that if the winde came faire he might passe out to accomplish the rest of his meaning. When therefore we were come to the mouth of the river, he made them cast anker, whereupon we stayed without discovering any thing all the rest of the day. The next day he commanded that all the men of his ship should come up upon the decke, saying that he had somewhat to say unto them. They all came up, and immediatly the Captaine began to speake unto them in this maner.

The benefite of planting.

The Oration of John Ribault to his companie.

I thinke there is none of you that is ignorant of how great consequence this our enterprize is, and also how acceptable it is unto our yong King. Therefore my friendes (as one desiring your honour and benefite) I would not faile to advertise you all of the exceeding good happe which should fall to them, which, as men of valure and worthy courage, would make tryall in this our first discoverie of the benefits and commodities of this new land: which should be, as I assure my selfe, the greatest occasion that ever could happen unto them, to arise unto the title and degree of honour. And for this cause I was desirous to propose unto you and set downe before your eyes the eternall memorie which of right they deserve, which forgetting both their parents and their countrey have had the courage to enterprize a thing of such importance, which even kings themselves understanding to be men aspiring to so high degree of

magnanimitie and increase of their majesties, doe not disdaine so wel to regard, that afterwards imploying them in maters of weight & of high enterprize, they make their names immortall for ever. Howbeit, I would not have you perswade your selves, as many doe, that you shall never have such good fortune, as not being knowen neither to the king nor the Princes of the Realme, and besides descending of so poore a stocke, that few or none of your parents, having ever made profession of armes, have bene knowen unto the great estates. For albeit that from my tender yeeres I my selfe have applyed all my industry to follow them, and have hazarded my life in so many dangers for the service of my prince, yet could I never attaine therunto (not that I did not deserve this title and degree of government) as I have seene it happen to many others, onely because they descende of a noble race, since more regard is had of their birth then of their virtue. For wel I know that if vertue were regarded, ther would more be found worthy to deserve the title, & by good right to be named noble and valiant. I will therefore make sufficient answere to such propositions and such things as you may object against me, laying before you the infinite examples which we have of the Romans; which concerning the point of honour were the first that triumphed over the world. For how many finde we among them, which for their so valiant enterprizes, not for the greatnesse of their parentage, have obtained the honour to tryumph? If we have recourse unto their ancesters, wee shall finde that their parents were of so meane condition, that by labouring with their hands they lived very basely. As the father of Ælius Pertinax, which was a poore artisan, his Grandfather likewise was a bond man, as the historiographers do witnes: and neverthelesse, being moved with a valiant courage, he was nothing dismayed for all this, but rather desirous to aspire unto high things, he began with a brave stomacke to learne feates of armes, and

Ælius Pertinax descending from base parentage became Emperour of Rome.

profited so wel therein, that from step to step he became at length to be Emperour of the Romans. For all this dignitie he despised not his parents: but contrariwise, & in remembrance of them, he caused his fathers shop to be covered with a fine wrought marble, to serve for an example to men descended of base & poore linages, to give them occasion to aspire unto high things notwithstanding the meannesse of their ancesters. I wil not passe over in silence the excellencie & prowesse of the valiant and renowned Agathocles the sonne of a simple potter, and yet forgetting the contemptible estate of his father, he so applied himselfe to vertue in his tender yeeres, that by the favour of armes he came to be king of Sicilie: and for all this title he refused not to be counted the sonne of a Potter. But the more to eternize the memorie of his parentes and to make his name renowned, he commanded that he should be served at the Table in vessels of gold and silver and others of earth: declaring thereby that the dignitie wherein hee was placed came not unto him by his parents, but by his owne vertue onely. If I shal speake of our time, I will lay before you onely Rusten Bassha, which may be a sufficient example to al men: which though he were the sonne of a poore heard-man, did so apply his youth in all vertue, that being brought up in the service of the great Turke, he seemed to aspire to great and high matters, in such sort that growing in yeres he increased also in courage, so far forth, that in fine for his excellent vertues he married the daughter of the great Turke his Prince. Howe much then ought so many worthy examples to move you to plant here? Considering also that hereby you shalbe registred for ever as the first that inhabited this strange countrey. I pray you therfore all to advise your selves thereof, and to declare your mindes freely unto mee, protesting that I will so well imprint your names in the kings eares, and the other princes, that your re-

Agathocles a potters sonne became king of Sicilie.

[III. 313.]

Rusten Bassha of an heardmans sonne through his valure became the great Turkes sonne in law.

nowme shall hereafter shine unquenchable through our Realme of France. He had scarcely ended his Oration, but the greatest part of our souldiers replyed: that a greater pleasure could never betide them, perceiving well the acceptable service which by this meanes they shoulde doe unto their Prince: besides that this thing should be for the increase of their honours: therfore they besought the Captaine, before he departed out of the place, to begin to build them a Fort, which they hoped afterward to finish, and to leave them munition necessarie for their defence, shewing as it seemed that they were displeased, that it was so long in doing. Whereupon John Ribault being as glad as might be to see his men so well willing, determined the next day to search the most fit and convenient place to be inhabited. Wherefore he embarked himselfe very earely in the morning and commanded them to followe him that were desirous to inhabite there, to the intent that they might like the beter of the place. Having sayled up the great river on the North side, in coasting an Isle which ended with a sharpe point toward the mouth of the river, having sailed a while, he discovered a small river, which entred into the Islande, which hee would not faile to search out. Which done, & finding the same deep inough to harbour therein Gallies and Galliots in good number, proceeding further, he found a very open place, joyning upon the brinke thereof, where he went on land, and seeing the place fit to build a Fortresse in, and commodious for them that were willing to plant there, he resolved incontinent to cause the bignes of the fortification to be measured out. And considering that there stayed but sixe and twentie there, he caused the Fort to be made in length but sixteene fathome, and thirteene in breadth, with flankes according to the proportion thereof. The measure being taken by me and Captaine Salles, we sent unto the shippes for men, and to bring shovels, pickaxes and other instruments necessarie to make the fortification.

The souldiers answere to Ribaults Oration.

The length and bredth of the Fort taken by Laudonnier and Captaine Salles.

A Fort built in Port Roial by Ribault.

We travailed so diligently, that in a short space the Fort was made in some sort defenciable. In which meane time John Ribault caused victuals and warrelike munition to be brought for the defence of the place. After he had furnished them with all such things as they had neede of, he determined to take his leave of them. But before his departure he used this speech unto Captaine Albert, which he left in this place.

Ribaults speech to Captaine Albert.

Captaine Albert, I have to request you in the presence of al these men, that you would quit your selfe so wisely in your charge, and governe so modestly your small companie which I leave you, which with so good cheere remaineth under your obedience, that I never have occasion but to commend you, and to recount unto the king (as I am desirous) the faithfull service which before us all you undertake to doe him in his new France: And you companions, (quoth he to the Souldiers) I beseech you also to esteeme of Captaine Albert as if hee were my selfe that stayed here with you, yeelding him that obedience which a true souldier oweth unto his Generall and Captaine, living as brethren one with another, without all dissention: and in so doing God wil assist you and blesse your enterprises. Having ended his exhortation, we tooke our leaves of each of them, and sayled toward our shippes, calling the Forte by the name of Charles-fort, and the River by the name Chenonceau. The next day wee determined to depart from this place being as well contented as was possible that we had so happily ended our busines, with good hope, if occasion would permitte, to discover perfectly the river of Jordan. For this cause we hoysed our sayles about ten of the clocke in the morning: after wee were ready to depart Captain Ribault commanded to shoote off our Ordinance to give a farewel unto our Frenchmen, which failed not to doe the like on their part. This being done wee sailed toward the North: and then we named this river Porte Royal, because of the largenes and excellent

His speech to the souldiers.

The aforesaide Fort was called Charles-fort.

Port Royall.

fairenes of the same. After that we had sailed about 15 leagues from thence, we espied a river, whereupon wee sent our pinnesse thither to discover it. At their return they brought us word that they found not past halfe a fathom water in the mouth therof. Which when we understood, without doing any thing els, we continued our way, and called it the Base or Shallow river. As we stil went on sounding we found not past five or sixe fathome water, although we were sixe good leagues from the shoare: at length we found not past three fathomes, which gave us occasion greatly to muse. And without making any farther way we strook our sayles, partly because we wanted water, & partly because the night approched: during which time Captaine John Ribault bethought with himselfe whether it were best for him to passe any farther, because of the eminent dangers which every houre we saw before our eyes: or whither he should content himselfe with that which he had certainely discovered, & also left men to inhabite the countrey. Being not able for that time to resolve with himselfe, he referred it until the next day. The morning being come he proposed to all the company what was best to be done, to the end that with good advisement every man might deliver his opinion. Some made answere, that according to their judgement he had occasion fully to content himselfe, considering he could doe no more: laying before his eyes, that he had discovered more in sixe weekes, then the Spaniards had done in two yeres in the conquest of their New Spaine: and that he should do the king very great service, if he did bring him newes in so short a time of his happy discoverie. Other shewed unto him the losse and spoile of his victuals, and on the other side the inconvenience that might happen by the shallow water that they found continually along the coast. Which things being well and at large debated we resolved to leave the coast, forsaking the North, to take our way toward the East, which is the right way and course to our

The river Base, 15 leagues Northwarde of Port Royall.

Shallow water. [III. 314.]

Their arrivall in France 1562. the 20 of July.

France, where we happily arrived the twentieth day of July, the yere 1562.

The state and condition of those which were left behind in Charles-fort.

OUr men after our departure never rested, but night and day did fortifie themselves, being in good hope that after their fort was finished, they would begin to discover farther up within the river. It happened one day, as certaine of them were in cutting of rootes in the groves, that they espied on the sudden an Indian that hunted the Deere, which finding himselfe so neere upon them, was much dismayed, but our men began to draw neere unto him and to use him so courteously, that he became assured and followed them to Charles-fort, where every man sought to doe him pleasure. Captaine Albert was very joyfull of his comming, which after he had given him a shirt and some other trifles, he asked him of his dwelling: the Indian answered him that it was farther up within the river, and that he was vassal of *King Audusta.* king Audusta: he also shewed him with his hand the limits of his habitation. After much other talke the Indian desired leave to depart, because it drew toward night, which Captaine Albert granted him very willingly. Cer- *Note.* taine dayes after the Captaine determined to saile toward Audusta, where being arrived, by reason of the honest entertaynment which he had given to the Indian, he was so courteously received, that the king talked with him of nothing else but of the desire which he had to become his friend: giving him besides to understand that he being his friend and allie, he should have the amitie of foure other kings, which in might & authoritie were able to do much for his sake: Besides all this, in his necessitie they might be able to succour him with *Mayon. Hoya. Touppa. Stalame.* victuals. One of these kings was called Mayon, another Hoya, the third Touppo, and the fourth Stalame. He told him moreover, that they would be very glad, when they should understand the newes of his comming, and

therefore he prayed him to vouchsafe to visit them. The Captaine willingly consented unto him, for the desire that he had to purchase friends in that place. Therefore they departed the next morning very earely, and first arrived at the house of king Touppa, and afterward went into the other kings houses, except the house of king Stalame. He received of each of them all the amiable courtesies that might be: they shewed themselves to be as affectioned friends unto him as was possible, and offered unto him a thousand small presents. After that he had remained by the space of certaine daies with these strange kings, he determined to take his leave: and being come backe to the house of Audusta, he commanded al his men to goe aboord their Pinnesse: for he was minded to goe towardes the countrey of king Stalame, which dwelt toward the North the distance of 15 great leagues from Charles-fort. Therefore as they sailed up the river they entred into a great current, which they followed so farre till they came at the last to the house of Stalame: which brought him into his lodging, where he sought to make them the best cheere he could devise. He presented immediatly unto Captaine Albert his bow and arrowes, which is a signe and confirmation of alliance betweene them. He presented him with Chamoys skinnes. The Captaine seeing the best part of the day was now past, tooke his leave of king Stalame to return to Charles-fort, where hee arrived the day following. By this time the friendship was growne so great betweene our men and king Audusta, that in a manner all things were common betweene him and them: in such sort that this good Indian king did nothing of importance, but he called our men thereunto. For when the time drew neere of the celebrating their feasts of Toya, which are ceremonies most strange to recite, he sent Ambassadours to our men to request them on his behalfe to be there present. Whereunto they agreed most willingly for the desire that they had to understand what this might be. They imbarked themselves therefore and sailed towards

The countrey of king Stalame 15 leagues Northward of Charles-fort.

Chamoys skinnes.

The feast of Toya largely described. [III. 315.]

the kings house, which was already come forth on the way towards them, to receive them courteously, to bid them welcome & bring them to his house, where he sought to intreat them the best he might. In the meane while the Indians prepared themselves to celebrate the feast the morrow after, and the king brought them to see the place, wherein the feast should be kept: where they saw many women round about, which laboured by al meanes to make the place cleane & neat. This place was a great circuit of ground with open prospect and round in figure. On the morrow therefore early in the morning, all they which were chosen to celebrate the feast, being painted and trimmed with rich feathers of divers colours, put themselves on the way to go from the kings house toward the place of Toya: whereunto when they were come they set themselves in order, & followed three Indians, which in painting and in gesture were differing from the rest: each of them bare a Tabret in their hand, dancing & singing in a lamentable tune, when they began to enter into the middest of the round circuit, being followed of others which answered them again. After that they had sung, danced, and turned 3 times, they fel on running like unbridled horses, through the middest of the thickest woods. And then the Indian women continued all the rest of the day in teares as sad & woful as was possible: & in such rage they cut the armes of the yong girles, which they lanced so cruelly with sharpe shels of Muskles that the blood followed which they flang into the ayre, crying out three times, He Toya. The king Audusta had gathered all our men into his house, while the feast was celebrated, and was exceedingly offended when he saw them laugh. This he did, because the Indians are very angry when they are seene in their ceremonies. Notwithstanding one of our men made such shift that by subtile meanes he gatte out of the house of Audusta, and secretly went and hid himselfe behinde a very thicke bush, where at his pleasure, he might easily discry the ceremonies of the feast. They three that began

The Indians trimming of themselves with rich feathers.

the feast are named Jawas: and they are as it were three Priestes of the Indian law: to whom they give credite and beliefe partly because that by kinred they are ordained to be over their Sacrifices, and partly also because they be so subtile magicians that any thing that is lost is straightway recovered by their meanes. Againe they are not onely reverenced for these things, but also because they heale diseases by I wotte not what kinde of knowledge and skill they have. Those that ran so through the woodes returned two dayes after: after their returne they began to dance with a cherefull courage in the middest of the faire place, and to cheere up their good olde Indian fathers, which either by reason of their too great age, or by reason of their naturall indisposition and feeblenesse were not called to the feast. When all these dances were ended, they fell on eating with such a greedinesse, that they seemed rather to devoure their meate then to eate it, for they had neither eaten nor drunke the day of the feast, nor the two dayes following. Our men were not forgotten at this good cheere, for the Indians sent for them all thither, shewing themselves very glad of their presence. While they remained certaine time with the Indians, a man of ours got a yong boy for certaine trifles, and inquired of him, what the Indians did in the wood during their absence: which boy made him understand by signes, that the Jawas had made invocations to Toya, and that by Magicall Characters they had made him come that they might speake with him and demand divers strange things of him, which for feare of the Jawas he durst not utter. They have also many other ceremonies, which I will not here rehearse for feare of molesting the reader with a matter of so small importance.

Jawas are their Priestes.

Magicians.

Physitions.

Invocations of the Jawas or Priests unto Toya.

When the feast therefore was finished our men returned unto Charles-fort: where having remained but a while their victualles beganne to waxe short, which forced them to have recourse unto their neighbours, and to pray them to succour them in their necessitie: which gave them

Their victuals fayle them.

part of all the victualles which they had, and kept no more unto themselves then would serve to sow their fieldes. They tolde them farther that for this cause it was needeful for them to retire themselves into the woods, to live of Mast and rootes untill the time of harvest, being as sory as might be that they were not able any farther to ayde them. They gave them also counsell to goe toward the countreys of King Covexis a man of might and renowme in this province, which maketh his aboad toward the South abounding at all seasons and replenished with such quantitie of mill, corne, and beanes that by his onely succour they might be able to live a very long time. But before they should come into his territories, they were to repayre unto a king called Ovade the brother of Covexis, which in mill, beanes, and corne was no lesse wealthy, and withall is very liberall, and which would be very joyfull if he might but once see them. Our men perceiving the good relation which the Indians made them of those two kings resolved to go thither; for they felt already the necessity which oppressed them. Therfore they made request unto king Maccou, that it would please him to give them one of his subjects to guide them the right way thither: wherupon he condescended very willingly, knowing that without his favour they should have much ado to bring their interprize to passe. Wherefore after they had given order for all things necessary for the voyage, they put themselves to Sea, and sayled so farre that in the end they came into the countrey of Ovade, which they found to be in the river Belle. Being there arrived they perceived a company of Indians, which assoone as they knew of their being there came before them. Assoone as they were come neere them, their guides shewed them by signes that Ovade was in this company, wherefore our men set forward to salute him. And then two of his sonnes which were with him, being goodly and strong men saluted them againe in very good sort, and used very friendly

The Indians maner of living in the Winter time of Mast and rootes.

King Covexis mightie and renowmed.

King Ovade.

King Maccou.

[III. 316.]

Ovades countrey in the river Belle.

entertainment on their part. The king immediatly began to make an Oration in his Indian language of the great pleasure and contentment which he had to see them in that place, protesting that he would become so loyall a friend of theirs hereafter, that he would be their faithfull defendour against all them that would offer to be their enemies. After these speeches he led them toward his house, where he sought to entreate them very courteously. His house was hanged about with Tapistrie of feathers of divers colours the height of a pike. Moreover the place where the king tooke his rest was covered with white Coverlettes embroydered with devises of very wittie and fine workemanship, and fringed round about with a Fringe dyed in the colour of Skarlet. They advertised the king by one of the guides which they brought with them, how that (having heard of his great liberalitie) they had put to the Sea to come to beseech him to succour them with victuals in their great want and necessitie: and that in so doing, he should binde them all hereafter to remaine his faithfull friends and loyall defenders against all his enemies. This good Indian assoone ready to doe them pleasure, as they were to demand it, commanded his subjects that they should fill our Pinnesse with mil and beanes. Afterward he caused them to bring him sixe pieces of his Tapistry made like litle coverlets, & gave them to our men with so liberal a minde, as they easily perceived the desire which he had to become their friend. In recompence of all these giftes our men gave him two cutting hookes and certaine other trifles, wherewith he held himselfe greatly satisfied. This being done, our men tooke their leave of the king, which for their farewell, sayd nothing els but that they should returne if they wanted victuals, & that they might assure themselves of him, that they should never want any thing that was in his power. Wherefore they imbarked themselves, and sayled towards Charles-fort, which from this place might be some five and twenty leagues distant. But as soone as our men

Tapistrie of feathers.

White coverlets edged with red fringe.

The liberalitie of king Ovade.

Ovades countrey twenty-five leagues Southward from Charles fort.

thought themselves at their ease, & free from the dangers whereunto they had exposed themselves night and day in gathering together of victuals here and there: Lo, even as they were asleepe, the fire caught in their lodgings with such furie, being increased by the winde, that the roome that was built for them before our mens departure, was consumed in an instant, without being able to save any thing, saving a little of their victualles. Whereupon our men being farre from all succours, found themselves in such extremitie, that without the ayd of Almighty God, the onely searcher of the hearts and thoughts of men, which never forsaketh those that seeke him in their afflictions, they had bene quite and cleane out of all hope. For the next day betimes in the morning the King Audusta and King Maccou came thither, accompanied with a very good companie of Indians, which knowing the misfortune, were very sory for it. And then they uttered unto their subjects the speedy diligence which they were to use in building another house, shewing unto them that the Frenchmen were their loving friends, & that they had made it evident unto them by the gifts and presents which they had received: protesting that whosoever put not his helping hand unto the worke with all his might, should be esteemed as unprofitable, and as one that had no good part in him, which the Savages feare above all things. This was the occasion that every man began to endevour himselfe in such sort, that in lesse then 12 houres, they had begun and finished a house which was very neere as great as the former. Which being ended, they returned home fully contented with a few cutting hookes, and hatchets, which they received of our men. Within a small while after this mischance, their victuals began to waxe short: and after our men had taken good deliberation, thought and bethought themselves againe, they found that there was no better way for them then to returne againe to the king Ovade and Covexis his brother. Wherefore they resolved to send thither some of their company the

The fort set on fire by casualtie.

The fort reedified by the Savages in the space of 12 houres.

next day following: which with an Indian Canoa sayled up into the countrey about 10 leagues: afterward they found a very faire & great river of fresh water, which they failed not to search out: they found therein a great number of Crocodils, which in greatnes passe those of the river Nilus: moreover, al along the bankes thereof, there grow mighty high Cypresses. After they had stayed a smal while in this place, they purposed to follow their journey, helping themselves so wel with the tydes, that without putting themselves in danger of the continuall perill of the Sea, they came into the countrey of Ovade: of whom they were most courteously received. They advertised him of the occasion wherefore they came again to visite him, and told him of the mischance, which happened unto them since their last voyages: how they had not onely lost their houshold stuffe by casualtie of fire, but also their victuals which he had given them so bountifully: that for this cause they were so bolde as to come once againe unto him, to beseech him to vouchsafe to succour them in such neede and necessitie.

Crocodiles.

Cypresses.

Their second journey to the countrey of Ovade.

[III. 317.]

After that the king had understood their case, he sent messengers unto his brother Covexis, to request him upon his behalfe to send him some of his mill and beanes, which thing he did: and the next morning, they were come againe with victuals, which the king caused to be borne into their Canoa. Our men would have taken their leave of him, finding themselves more then satisfied with this liberalitie. But for that day hee would not suffer them, but retained them, and sought to make them the best cheere hee could devise. The next day very earely in the morning, he tooke them with him to shewe them the place where his corne grewe, and saide unto them that they should not want as long as all that mil did last. Afterward he gave them a certaine number of exceeding faire pearles, & two stones of fine Christal, and certaine silver oare. Our men forgot not to give him certaine trifles in recom-

Exceeding faire pearles, fine Christall, silver ore.

pence of these presentes, and required of him the place whence the silver oare and the Christall came. He made them answere, that it came ten dayes journey from his habitation up within the countrey: and that the inhabitants of the countrey did dig the same at the foote of certaine high mountaines, where they found of it in very good quantitie. Being joyfull to understand so good newes, and to have come to the knowledge of that which they most desired, they tooke their leave of the king, and returned by the same saw, by which they came.

The place where christall groweth in very good quantitie ten dayes journey from the river Belle. Note.

Behold therefore how our men behaved themselves very well hitherto, although they had endured many great mishaps. But misfortune or rather the just judgement of God would have it, that those which could not bee overcome by fire nor water, should be undone by their owne selves. This is the common fashion of men, which cannot continue in one state, and had rather to overthrow themselves, then not to attempt some new thing dayly. We have infinite examples in the ancient histories, especially of the Romanes, unto which number this litle handfull of men, being farre from their countrey and absent from their countreymen, have also added this present example. They entred therefore into partialities and dissentions, which began about a souldier named Guernache, which was a drummer of the French bands: which, as it was told me, was very cruelly hanged by his owne captaine, and for a smal fault: which captaine also using to threathen the rest of his souldiers which staied behind under his obedience, and peradventure (as it is to be presumed) were not so obedient to him as they should have bene, was the cause that they fell into a mutinie, because that many times he put his threatnings in execution: wherupon they so chased him, that at the last they put him to death. And the principall occasion that moved them thereunto was, because he degraded another souldier named La Chere (which he had banished) and because he had not performed his

Mutiny against the captaine, and the causes thereof.

promise: for hee had promised to send him victuals, from 8 dayes to 8 dayes, which thing he did not, but said on the contrary, that he would be glad to heare of his death. He said moreover, that he would chastise others also, & used so evil sounding speeches, that honestie forbiddeth me to repeat them. The souldiers seeing his madnes to increase from day to day, and fearing to fall into the dangers of the other, resolved to kil him. Having executed their purpose, they went to seeke the souldier that was banished, which was in a small Island distant from Charles-fort about 3 leagues, where they found him almost half dead for hunger. When they were come home againe, they assembled themselves together to choose one to be governour over them whose name was Nicolas Barre a man worthy of commendation, and one which knewe so well to quite himselfe of his charge, that all rancour and dissention ceased among them, and they lived peaceably one with another. During this time, they began to build a smal Pinnesse, with hope to return into France, if no succours came unto them, as they expected from day to day. And though there were no man among them that had any skill, notwithstanding necessitie, which is the maistresse of all sciences, taught them the way to build it. After that it was finished, they thought of nothing else saving how to furnish it with all things necessarie to undertake the voyage. But they wanted those things that of all other were most needefull, as cordage and sayles, without which the enterprise coulde not come to effect. Having no meanes to recover these things, they were in worse case then at the first, and almost ready to fall into despayre. But that good God, which never forsaketh the afflicted, did succour them in their necessitie.

Captaine Albert slaine by his owne souldiers.

Nicolas Barre, chosen captain.

A new Brigandine built in Florida.

As they were in these perplexities king Audusta and Maccou came to them, accompanied with two hundred Indians at the least, whom our Frenchmen went forth to meete withall, and shewed the king in what neede of cordage they stood: who promised them to returne [III. 318.]

within two dayes, and to bring so much as should suffice to furnish the Pinnesse with tackling. Our men being pleased with these good newes & promises, bestowed upon them certaine cutting hookes and shirtes. After their departure our men sought all meanes to recover rosen in the woodes, wherin they cut the Pine trees round about, out of which they drew sufficient reasonable quantitie to bray the vessell. Also they gathered a kind of mosse which groweth on the trees of this countrey, to serve to calke the same withall. There now wanted nothing but sayles, which they made of their owne shirtes and of their sheetes. Within few dayes after the Indian kings returned to Charles fort with so good store of cordage, that there was found sufficient for tackling of the small Pinnesse. Our men as glad as might be, used great liberalitie towards them, and at their leaving of the countrey, left them all the marchandise that remained, leaving them thereby so fully satisfied, that they departed from them with all the contentation of the worlde. They went forward therefore to finish the Brigandine, & used so speedie diligence, that within a short time afterward they made it ready furnished with all things. In the meane season the winde came so fit for their purpose that it seemed to invite them to put to the Sea: which they did without delay, after they had set all their things in order. But before they departed they embarked their artillerie, their forge, and other munitions of warre which Captaine Ribault had left them, and then as much mill as they could gather together. But being drunken with the too excessive joy, which they had conceived for their returning into France, or rather deprived of all foresight & consideration, without regarding the inconstancie of the winds, which change in a moment, they put themselves to sea, and with so slender victuals, that the end of their interprise became unluckly and unfortunate.

Rosen to bray ships.

Mosse to calke ships.

Cordage for tackle.

They put to the sea without sufficient victuals.

For after they had sayled the third part of their way, they were surprized with calmes which did so much hinder them, that in three weekes they sailed not above

five and twentie leagues. During this time their victuals consumed, and became so short, that every man was constrained to eate not past twelve graines of mill by the day, which may be in value as much as twelve peason. Yea, and this felicitie lasted not long: for their victuals failed them altogether at once: and they had nothing for their more assured refuge but their shooes and leather jerkins which they did eat. Touching their beverage, some of them dranke the sea water, others did drink their owne urine: and they remained in such desperate necessitie a very long space, during the which part of them died for hunger. Beside this extreme famine, which did so grievously oppresse them, they fell every minute of an houre out of all hope ever to see France againe, insomuch that they were constrained to cast the water continually out, that on al sides entred into their Barke. And every day they fared worse and worse: for after they had eaten up their shooes and their leather jerkins, there arose so boystrous a winde and so contrary to their course, that in the turning of a hande, the waves filled their vessel halfe full of water and brused it upon the one side. Being now more out of hope then ever to escape out of this extreme peril, they cared not for casting out of the water which now was almost ready to drowne them. And as men resolved to die, every one fell downe backewarde, and gave themselves over altogether unto the will of the waves. When as one of them a little having taken heart unto him declared unto them how litle way they had to sayle, assuring them, that if the winde held, they should see land within three dayes. This man did so encourage them, that after they had throwne the water out of the Pinnesse they remained three dayes without eating or drinking, except it were of the sea water. When the time of his promise was expired, they were more troubled then they were before, seeing they could not discry any land. Wherefore in this extreme despaire certaine among them made this motion that it was better that one man should dye, then that so many men should

Their victuals utterly consumed.

They drinke their urine for want of fresh water.

Extreme famine.

perish: they agreed therefore that one should die to sustaine the others. Which thing was executed in the person of La Chere, of whom we have spoken heretofore, whose flesh was devided equally among his fellowes: a thing so pitifull to recite, that my pen is loth to write it.

After so long time and tedious travels, God of his goodnesse using his accustomed favour, changed their sorow into joy, and shewed unto them the sight of land. Whereof they were so exceeding glad, that the pleasure caused them to remaine a long time as men without sence: whereby they let the Pinnesse flote this and that way without holding any right way or course. But a small English barke boarded the vessell, in the which there was a Frenchman which had bene in the first voyage into Florida, who easily knew them, and spake unto them, and afterward gave them meat and drinke. Incontinently they recovered their naturall courages, and declared unto him at large all their navigation. The Englishmen consulted a long while what were best to be done, and in fine they resolved to put on land those that were most feeble, and to cary the rest unto the Queene of England, which purposed at that time to send into Florida. Thus you see in briefe that which happened to them which Captaine John Ribault had left in Florida. And now will I go forward with the discourse of mine owne voyage.

The French succoured by an English Barke.

[III. 319.] *It seemeth hee meaneth the voyage intended by Stukely.*

END OF VOLUME VIII.

IOANNES DEE
Anno, 1580

90

80

S. Laurens

Cayman, Caymana

HAITY

Stella magna

Ins. Tiburon

Ins. Mona

Ins. Sancta Crucis

Ins. Sancta Maria de Guadalupe

Ins. Sancta Maria Antiqua

Ins. Sancta Maria Rotunda

Ins. Sancta Maria de Monserrate

Ins. Sancta Maria Redonda

Ins. Sancta Maria de Barbata

Ins. Sancta Maria de Virtudes

Ins. Sancta Maria de Gratia

Ins. Sancta Maria de Nieves

Ins. Sancta Maria de Antigua

Ins. Sancta Maria de Montserrate

Ins. Sancta Maria de Barbata

Ins. Sancta Maria de Virtudes

Ins. Sancta Maria de Gratia

Ins. Sancta Maria de Nieves

Ins. Sancta Maria de Antigua

Ins. Sancta Maria de Montserrate

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